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CALIFORNIA

Apr 21/03
Yours Most Sincerely
W. F. McClung

William F. McCombs

The President Maker

By

MAURICE F. LYONS
Secretary to Mr. McCombs during the Prenomination and Presidential Campaigns of 1911-1912

CINCINNATI
THE BANCROFT COMPANY

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1912
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Foreword

IN the early part of 1911, a young lawyer with an extremely boyish face sat at his desk delving into a mass of political correspondence. The fates then had decreed that while he was to realize his ideal in bringing about the nomination and election of Woodrow Wilson, Governor of New Jersey and previously his favorite instructor at Princeton College, he was later to suffer keen disappointment, culminating in an illness the result of which would be fatal.

The very being of William F. McCombs centered in his admiration for the New Jersey Governor.

Allow me to quote from an article which he prepared for one of the magazines early in the year 1912:

> "Long before he became Governor he had arrived at a conception of the forces that control this great Nation, which conception has guided him since he became a famous Governor of a great State.*** Those who have known Woodrow Wilson during the years of his activities before he took public office are surprised neither at his effectiveness nor his ideas upon the fundamentals of Government.*** I have known Woodrow Wilson not only as Governor of New Jersey, but as a student in his class room and as a friend.*** Wilson is a red-blooded man; he is a fighting man; he is the young man's man.***

Mr. McCombs was a cripple. He was very sensitive of his affliction. His sister, Mrs. Corinne Hardy, told me on one occasion that when he was a baby an irresponsible nurse allowed him to fall from his carriage, the result of which maimed him for life. He himself related to me one night shortly after the election of Governor Wilson, how he had suffered to make his way through preparatory school; how he

later determined to go through Princeton; how he came North hobbling into the University on crutches; how he gradually learned to walk with the aid of a specially-constructed shoe, and how he emerged victorious over all obstacles, eventually receiving the degree of Master of Laws from Harvard University.

William F. McCombs passed to the Great Beyond just a short time before President Wilson retired from office, leaving his autobiography, which has been published.

During the summer of 1914 he and I were the guests of former Collector of Internal Revenue Edwards, known by the more familiar title of "Big Bill", at his camp in Connecticut, and it was there, after our host had departed and left us in command, that he told me of his desire to write his memoirs of the prenomination and presidential campaigns, of which he had been Manager and Chairman, respectively, and during which I had been his secretary.

Happily, I was in a position materially to assist him, inasmuch as I had retained voluminous notes, my diaries, and copies of important papers.

But I find upon publication that much of Mr. McCombs' biography is incomplete, in that many facts have been omitted and there is error in certain statements.

"Fiat Justitia Ruat Caelum."

MAURICE F. LYONS.

William F. McCombs
The President Maker

CHAPTER I.
The Prenomination Campaign

DURING the spring of 1911, I was requested to call upon Mr. Frank Parker Stockbridge, the well-known newspaperman, with a view to becoming connected with a movement, the object of which was to endeavor to bring about the nomination of Woodrow Wilson, Governor of New Jersey, for the Presidency in 1912.

The headquarters were in the Columbian Apartments, 157th Street and Broadway, New York City, under the direction of Mr. Stockbridge, who at the time was carrying on a correspondence with officials of clubs in various cities of the West, to the effect

that Governor Wilson was to make an extended trip through that part of the country, and inquiring whether reception committees could be appointed and arrangements perfected with a view to having the Governor address the club members on questions of the day.

I shortly had the pleasure of an introduction to the General of the movement, in the person of Mr. Wm. F. McCombs, a Member of the Bar, whose office was located at 96 Broadway, and who was busily engaged in attempting to procure funds which the Governor's trip would entail. He told me later that he had been unsuccessful in his quest and had underwritten the amount.

Within a month Governor Wilson started westward, speaking before large assemblages in Kansas City, Denver, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Seattle, and Portland, the writer having arranged his itinerary.

Mr. McCombs did not accompany the

Governor, but sought relaxation at the Hotel Waumbeck, Jefferson, N. H., where he met Mr. Louis Wiley of the New York *Times*, and others, with all of whom he conferred as to the movement then under way and the opportunity to nominate a man who could be elected, and thus place in the White House the first Democratic President in sixteen years. Mr. McCombs told me later that the suggestions which he received from Mr. Wiley were of great benefit and assistance.

Governor Wilson's trip was very successful, for irrespective of the differences of opinion as to the effect of this speech or that, the presidential ball was actually set in motion.

It was now decided that the headquarters should be enlarged and they were removed to West 38th Street, but the surroundings were deemed to be unsuitable, and within a few weeks the final move was made to 42 Broadway, from which the

speeches of the Governor that had been put into pamphlet form were disseminated by tens of thousands.

Mr. McCombs was now carrying on an extended correspondence and receiving assurances of support for Governor Wilson from leaders in the Pacific Coast States, the Dakotas, Minnesota, Wisconsin, and some of the Rocky Mountain States.

Orders were given to employ further help, the clerical force was augmented, and Mr. Walter Measday, a reporter who had formerly been with one of the large dailies, was engaged to accompany the Governor on all his speech-making tours and attend to giving them maximum publicity.

The furnishing of plate matter for the press was out of the question, there being insufficient funds, but a paper known as a clipping sheet was circulated among the Democratic and Independent papers throughout the country, the editors of which were requested to clip the items they

desired to use and set their own type. The plan proved to be very successful.

The movement was given further impetus by the adoption of a resolution by the two Democratic factions in Pennsylvania, which, irrespective of their local antagonisms, decided to support the Princeton Schoolmaster in the next national convention. The publicity derived from this action was very helpful and Governor Wilson was assured of over seventy votes from the Pennsylvania Delegation more than a year before he required them.

The correspondence grew enormously. Mail was received and taken away from headquarters by the sackload, and in many instances wagons were essential to dispose of it.

Mr. McCombs was steadily but surely creating public sentiment for the New Jersey Governor.

In the evenings conferences were held with other pioneers in the movement, at

his rooms in the Royalton on West 44th Street, New York City, among whom was Senator T. P. Gore of Oklahoma, whose counsel was always eagerly sought. It was there one evening that Mr. McCombs related to us of his having visited the Governor early in the year, calling his attention to a telegram in which he (McCombs) predicted Governor Wilson's election to the Presidency, and that the Governor replied:

"Let the Prophet fulfill the prophecy."

During the month of July a great deal of good publicity was obtained through the attack on Governor Wilson by Chairman James Nugent of the New Jersey State Committee, during which he called the Governor a liar and an ingrate, and was ultimately deposed. Mr. Nugent was the nephew of former Senator James Smith, Jr., known as "Dictator of the State", whom Governor Wilson had refused to tolerate as a candidate for the United States

Senate, on the ground that under the Senatorial Preference Primary Law, enacted in New Jersey in the year 1907, James E. Martine had been designated as the Senatorial candidate. Senator Smith and his friends had financed the Governor's campaign in the sum of approximately $75,000.

Mr. McCombs requested that I obtain for him a copy of the debate between Professor Wilson, the Democratic candidate, and George L. Record, the Progressive candidate, referring to former Senator Smith, which is as follows:

By Mr. Record: Q. Do you admit that the boss system exists as I have described it? If so, how do you propose to abolish it?

By Mr. Wilson: A. Of course I admit it. Its existence is notorious. I have made it my business for many years to observe and understand that system, and I hate it as thoroughly as I understand it. You are quite right in saying that the system is bi-partisan; that it constitutes the most dangerous condition in the public life of our State and Nation to-day; and that it has virtually for the time being destroyed representative govern-

ment and in its place set up a government of privilege. I would propose to abolish it by the reforms suggested in the Democratic Platform, by the election to office of men who will refuse to submit to it, and who will lend all their energies to break it up by pitiless publicity.

By Mr. Record: Q. In referring to the Board of Guardians, do you mean such Republican leaders as Baird, Murphy, Kean, and Stokes? Wherein do the relations of the special interests of such leaders differ from the relation of the same interests of such Democratic leaders as Smith, Nugent, and Davis?

By Mr. Wilson: A. I refer to the men you named. I mean Smith, Nugent, and Davis. They differ from the others in this, that they are in control of the government of the State, while the others are not, and cannot be if the present Democratic ticket is elected.

By Mr. Record: Q. Will you join me in denouncing the Democratic "overlords" as parties to a political boss system?

By Mr. Wilson: A. Certainly I will join you or any one else, in denouncing and fighting every and any one of either party who attempts any outrages against the government and public morality.

The bosses had been challenged by the man whose nomination they had brought about. Ears had they, but they heard not.

It was during the month of September, 1911, that Mr. William G. McAdoo first called upon Mr. McCombs at 96 Broadway and offered his services in behalf of Governor Wilson. From that time until after the Baltimore Convention the two gentlemen worked in complete harmony, and there was hardly an important move made by Mr. McCombs until he had been in touch with Mr. McAdoo and either obtained his advice or arranged an appointment so that they could confer and reach a decision.

The "sinews of war" were running very low indeed, as I recall, during the latter part of September and the first part of October, and the wherewith to maintain the clerical force and pay other expenses of the organization was advanced by Mr. McCombs personally.

Irrespective of financial conditions, he conceived the idea of having a "Woodrow Wilson Weekly" issued for dissemination and arranged with the Trenton *True Amer-*

ican, of Trenton, N. J., to issue from five to ten thousand additional copies of the paper each Friday, one page of which was to contain nothing but excerpts from speeches of the Governor and from articles that appeared in the larger dailies, with respect to his availability as a Presidential candidate. The list of newspapers and followers to whom it was desired the paper be sent was forwarded to the editor, who attended to the mailing of them.

This business did not, however, assist the paper materially, for within four or five months its financial condition was such that a receivership was apparent. Mr. McCombs then prevailed upon Mr. Cleveland H. Dodge, a staunch supporter of the Governor and who held a controlling interest in the sheet, to keep it running "for the sake of the cause", and an embarrassing situation was averted.

About this time Mr. McCombs heard

that Colonel Watterson, Editor of the Louisville *Courier-Journal*, was stopping at the Waldorf-Astoria. Like a war horse rearing at the smell of powder McCombs made for Thirty-fourth Street and Fifth Avenue, for he lacked money, oh, how he lacked money! But after the Colonel had suggested Thomas F. Ryan as the good angel and volunteered to see him at his home in Virginia, Mr. McCombs concluded that such a contribution would be of irreparable injury to Governor Wilson's candidacy, and later stated to me that he had refused it.

During the month of December, the famous Harvey-Watterson-Wilson controversy arose at the Manhattan Club in New York City, and was brought on by the conviction of Governor Wilson that *Harper's Weekly*, though strongly espousing his candidacy, was injuring it, and upon being asked by Mr. Harvey whether he thought

this to be a fact, replied that he thought it was. Whereupon Harvey published a statement in *Harper's Weekly*, setting forth that

"The name of Woodrow Wilson as our candidate for President was taken down from the head of these columns in response to a statement made to us directly by Governor Wilson to the effect that our support was affecting his condidacy injuriously.

"The only course left open to us, in simple fairness to Mr. Wilson, no less than in consideration of our own self-respect, was to cease to advocate his nomination.

"We make this explanation with great reluctance and the deepest regret. But we cannot escape the conclusion that the very considerable number of our readers who have co-operated earnestly and loyally in advancing a movement which was inaugurated solely in the hope of rendering a high public service, are clearly entitled to this information."

The door had hardly closed upon this incident, for the time being, when more publicity was created for the Governor through the disallowance by the trustees of Princeton University of his application for a pension allowance, but it was con-

cluded that the attack had been inspired by certain Princeton officials who had taken exception to Governor Wilson's policies when he was President of that institution, who had fought him unsuccessfully in the Gubernatorial contest, and who now sought to weaken him as a Presidential candidate.

The politicial atmosphere was growing very warm. Speaker Clark, Senator Oscar Underwood of Alabama, and Hon. Judson Harmon of Ohio, now loomed up as prospective candidates and the friends of each were donning their war paint. While it was recognized that it would be impolitic to enter the States of these "favorite sons" and make open contests, Mr. McCombs found his way in through channels that led to quiet but effective work on the part of a few influential friends in each case.

Ever on the alert for funds, Mr. McCombs now got in touch with Colonel E. M. House of Texas, who was stopping at the Gotham Hotel, in New York City, and the

Colonel consented to further Governor Wilson's candidacy and finance the Texas headquarters. Mr. McCombs relied upon the Colonel to "deliver" the Texas Delegation in the National Convention, and was later assured that "it would perform", whereupon the jubilant McCombs addressed a communication to Governor Wilson, and I quote from my notes, as follows:

> "I have a letter from him in which he says Texas will be all right and that he will come to New York within two weeks to help out if I wish it. I am going to ask him to come on by all means."***

And then there loomed on the horizon the National Committeeman from Delaware, later United States Senator, Willard Saulsbury, who after conferences with Governor Wilson and Mr. McCombs, joined the Wilson forces. He indeed proved to be a pillar of strength to the movement. Within a month Mr. Saulsbury had arranged a meeting with his colleague, Roger

To
Maurice F. Egan with the sincere regards
November 1920.

Sullivan, the Democratic leader of Illinois, at Chicago.

Upon Saulsbury's return he reported to Mr. McCombs that he had spent practically a whole afternoon preaching the gospel of Woodrow Wilson to Sullivan, and that while Roger refused to commit himself, he had stated that he was rather interested.

Mr. Saulsbury kept after his friend like a good salesman determined on landing a big order, and finally—but read how it was accomplished a little further on.

It was now about the first of the year 1912. The amount of cash in bank was $55.23. The conferences between Mr. McCombs and his friends became more frequent. One of the most active of his conferees, Mr. Josiah Quincy, of Boston, mentioned Hon. Frederic C. Penfield, later appointed Ambassador to Austria, and a millionaire who had previously held diplomatic office, as a possible Wilson adherent.

Mr. Quincy's vision was admirable, for shortly Mr. Penfield registered under the Woodrow Wilson banner and presented his subscription totaling $10,000. I was with Mr. McCombs when he opened the envelope containing the most acceptable contribution, and I can see him again as he straightened up, balanced himself on his good leg, and stated: "Oh, welcome, little angel!"

The mailing list at headquarters at this time consisted of more than two hundred thousand names, under the supervision of Miss Alberta Hill, an ardent Suffragette and a very capable young lady. Miss Hill also supervised the collecting and indexing of the clippings favorable to Governor Wilson which were taken from the prominent papers throughout the country, and in addition managed the clerical force.

Mr. Stockbridge had resigned, the cause being the insistence of Mr. McCombs that

all correspondence from headquarters bear no signature other than his. Thousands of followers had been writing, and receiving replies over the signature of Mr. Stockbridge. They recognized him because in the early days of the movement he had been in touch with them and had made the arrangements for the first western trip, in addition to accompanying the Governor and meeting many of them personally.

The successor of Mr. Stockbridge was Mr. Byron R. Newton, a friend of Hon. Wm. G. McAdoo, later appointed Assistant Secretary of the Treasury and Collector of the Port of New York. To render him assistance Mr. Jacob R. Binder, of Rutherford, N. J., was engaged. The tenure of both was short.

Mr. Newton's case is interesting. The pitiless light will be turned on when I again take up the Harvey-Watterson-Wilson controversy.

But reverting to the growth of the Wilson movement early in 1912—Mr. McCombs now deemed it of the greatest importance that the Governor make more addresses to provide further ammunition in the form of pamphlets for dissemination, and conferred with Mr. John R. Dunlap of the National Democratic Club, New York City, who arranged that an invitation be extended to Governor Wilson to speak before the Club the evening of January 3d, on the tariff question.

Among the members who were conspicuous by their absence was Mr. Charles F. Murphy. When I laughingly mentioned this fact to Mr. McCombs he stated: "Murphy would be more at ease in the company of Clark or Harmon than on the dais with the Governor".

Governor Wilson made a splendid and effective address, and we flooded the country with copies of it.

Mr. Walker W. Vick, of Rutherford, N. J., about this time volunteered to make a trip through the Carolinas, Georgia, Alabama, and Florida, and confer with possible Wilson followers, and rendered valiant service in the cause, becoming one of Mr. McCombs' confidential lieutenants. He succeeded Mr. Newton as Manager of the Prenomination Campaign Headquarters, later being designated Assistant Secretary of the Democratic National Committee, and then Secretary of the Inaugural Committee. He was rewarded by the President with the appointment of Receiver General of Santo Domingo.

Mr. Thomas J. Pence, Washington correspondent for one of the leading papers and a man very well thought of in Congressional circles, was also engaged on the recommendation of Congressman William Hughes, of New Jersey, as Manager of the Washington Branch of the movement,

mainly for the purpose of obtaining publicity for Governor Wilson through the correspondents of the various press associations and newspapers in Washington. In addition he often accompanied Mr. McCombs and myself on trips for the purpose of taking advantage of all the publicity that could be obtained from that source.

After Governor Wilson had delivered his inspiring address on January 6th, in Carnegie Hall, New York City, on the Jewish Passport question, Hon. Henry Morgenthau, later appointed Ambassador to Turkey, became his staunch supporter and agreed to subscribe the sum of $4,000 a month to the cause.

All eyes were now turned toward Washington, where on the 8th of January the Governor was to speak at the Jackson Day Banquet, to be given at the Hotel Raleigh, at which many notables were to be present,

including the other potential Presidential candidates, Representative Oscar Underwood, Speaker Clark, and Senator Atlee Pomerene in behalf of Hon. Judson Harmon. As usual, Governor Wilson had not prepared his address in advance, preferring to speak extemporaneously.

Mr. McCombs and myself arrived in Washington the morning of the 7th, and had hardly been in our rooms at the Willard Hotel when word was received that the press was to give out a letter from Governor Wilson to Mr. Adrian H. Joline that contained "dynamite", and which was as follows:

"April 29, 1907.

"MY DEAR MR. JOLINE:

Thank you very much for sending me your address at Parsons, Kansas, before the Board of Directors of the Missouri, Kansas & Texas Railway Co. I have read it with relish and entire agreement. Would that we could do something at once digni-

fied and effective to knock Mr. Bryan once for all into a cocked hat.

Cordially and sincerely yours,

WOODROW WILSON.

MR. ADRIAN H. JOLINE."

Mr. Bryan was en route to make one of the principal addresses at the banquet. It was ascertained that he had stopped for a short while in Raleigh, N. C. Mr. Pence was requested to get in touch at once with Hon. Josephus Daniels, later appointed Secretary of the Navy, who also resided there, and was a friend of the great Commoner, and endeavor to still the troubled waters.

Mr. McCombs then gave out the following to the press:

"The Joline letter is a continuation of efforts to dynamite Governor Wilson, from Wall Street. These attacks on Wilson generally have come from that quarter, largely from Republican sources.

Mr. Joline is President of the Missouri, Kansas & Texas Railway, and is a personal attorney for Thomas F. Ryan."

That afternoon about four o'clock Governor Wilson and some of his friends assembled in a large room of the Willard Hotel. Among those present were Congressman William Hughes; John T. McGraw, National Committeeman from West Virginia; Dudley Field Malone, Joseph P. Tumulty, Mr. McCombs, Senator James A. O'Gorman, Thomas J. Pence, and myself. A discussion as to what reply the Governor should make to the Joline letter continued for some twenty or thirty minutes, when Governor Wilson prepared a statement that he wrote what he thought was proper at the time, and further, as taken from my notes:

"Even if a man has written letters it ought not to embarrass him if they are published. Even if a man changes his mind it ought not to embarrass him."

Handing me the statement, Governor Wilson requested that I read it aloud, and, after a pause, requested that I have it typewritten.

When I returned to the room with the copy there was additional discussion and, as I recall, the Governor then decided that his reply would be made at the banquet, whereupon the meeting adjourned.

Within a short time Mr. Bryan reached Washington and was immediately interviewed by Mr. W. B. Hennessy, a member of the press who had been engaged by Mr. McCombs as a publicity man. I give herewith his interview on the Joline letter, taken verbatim by me:

Q. What have you got to say about the Joline letter, Mr. Bryan?

A. I have nothing to say about that. I have already made a statement. The persons who procured its publication are probably satisfied. I think that covers it.

Q. Do you know that T. F. Ryan was concerned in the writing or reception of the letter?

A. I have nothing to say.

Q. When you were abroad, Mr. Bryan, did you see the Sphinx?

A. Yes, and I paid some attention to studying its methods.

About six o'clock Senator Saulsbury entered Mr. McCombs' room. There were present at the time Senator William Hughes of New Jersey, McCombs, and myself. We were still discussing the Joline matter, when Saulsbury stated:

"Now is the opportunity to confer with Roger Sullivan."

Quickly going to the 'phone he got in touch with Mr. Sullivan, arranged the meeting and hung up the receiver, while Senator Hughes and I did a war dance about the room in our joy.

Within a short while Mr. Sullivan arrived, but thought it would be inconvenient to talk in Mr. McCombs' room, which was being besieged by callers, so we all repaired to another room at the end of the hall, where an extended conference was had;

during which Roger Sullivan stated that he was inclined to be friendly to Governor Wilson's cause, and then smilingly said: "I cannot yet commit myself." After the Illinois leader had gone, Mr. Saulsbury slapped McCombs on the back, and stated: "He's fixed."

At eight o'clock that evening I accompanied Governor Wilson to the Shoreham Hotel, where he was to address some members of the New Jersey State Committee, in addition to about two hundred others of his admirers from that State. We entered the hall while Dudley Field Malone was delivering a stirring address with regard to upholding the principles and the policies of Woodrow Wilson.

The Governor was conducted to the dais, and during the course of his remarks, which I reported, stated:

> "It was worth while coming to Washington to see this. If I followed my inclinations this is the place I would stay

for the rest of the evening, for I am not sure of having as many adherents anywhere else. I am not throwing any aspersions on the other dinner—that's all right, but then a dinner all Jersey is of a kind and that dinner over there is not all Jersey. I can only surmise what's going on in the minds of some of those fellows. I know the exceeding purity of it—and I know what's going on in your minds—that is, I know on an average what's going on in your minds. But there is, of course, a sort of pleasurable excitement in taking your chances with the other crowd, and there is that very great satisfaction, which is the single satisfaction lacking on this occasion—it is very delightful to ram certain things down some peoples' throats and make them digest them." ***

When the Governor had concluded his address he, Mr. Malone, and myself repaired to the Raleigh Hotel. On the way Malone asked me whether I "got" the address all right. I answered that I had, but that I was thankful no reporters other than myself were present, and that I was going to "bury" it.

As we entered the banquet hall of the Raleigh, Governor Wilson received a tremendous ovation. Senator Martine, of New Jersey, stood upon a table yelling like a Comanche Indian, his full dress tails waving in the hot breeze.

The Governor's chair had been placed next to that of Mr. Bryan. I sat directly in front at the reporter's table, and give that portion of Governor Wilson's address which answered the Joline letter:

> *** "What I want to say is that one of the most striking things in recent years is that with all the rise and fall of particular ideas, with all the ebb and flow of particular proposals, there has been an interesting fixed point in the history of the Democratic Party, and that fixed point has been the character, and the devotion, and the preachings of William Jennings Bryan.
>
> "I, for my part, never want to forget this—that while we have differed with Mr. Bryan upon this occasion and upon that with regard to the specific things to be done, he has gone serenely on, pointing

Photo by Harris & Ewing

Woodrow Wilson

> out to a more and more convinced people what it was that was the matter. He has had the steadfast vision all along of what it was that was the matter, and he has, not any more than Andrew Jackson did, not based his character upon calculation, but has based it upon principle." ***

I distinctly remember the great Commoner's pleasant expression as the above compliment was paid him, and I felt that Governor Wilson had been successful in removing any feeling that may have remained with Colonel Bryan.

Mr. Bryan in the course of his long and interesting address vigorously contended that potential candidates or designated candidates should not be permitted to buy out newspapers, and a number of Speaker Clark's followers shouted, "the Trenton *True American*", which, as heretofore stated was the sheet that Mr. McCombs had been nourishing for the purpose of furthering the candidacy of Governor Wilson.

I did not see Mr. McCombs, though I

was aware that he was in the hall. I returned to the Willard about four o'clock the following morning. Mr. McCombs came in a little later, radiantly happy, and stated:

"Well, Lyons, we surely put it across and I've captured Roger Sullivan."

While we were talking on other interesting phases of the banquet Senator Saulsbury bounded into the room, and for the next hour the talk centered on Governor Wilson's eloquent speech, which at last had brought Roger Sullivan into the fold, and the impetus which the whole proceedings would give to the Governor's candidacy.

The 9th of January was the day on which the members of the Democratic National Committee selected the city in which the convention was to be held. Mr. McCombs had previously corresponded with Senator Gore and followed his advice in urging that Baltimore be named. The letter to the Senator is as follows:

"I have your very good letter of December 27th, and will certainly take your suggestions. They are always good. I will be in Washington from the 6th until the 9th and will certainly give myself the pleasure of calling on you. Could I have the benefit of your suggestions as to the proper place to hold the convention? You mention Baltimore. What do you think of it? There has been a good deal of fuss over New York. It is needless to say I do not want it, but I think if the Democratic Party, regardless of Wilson, is thinking at all, it does not want New York either, because on its face it would look like a surrender to Tammany and to money.

Yours sincerely."

Baltimore was selected, the additional magnet being a certified check for $100,000, which Chairman Mack fondled lovingly while the advocate for that city spoke of its desirable location and many other advantages.

Governor Wilson's strength as a Presidential candidate was now recognized by hundreds of Democratic leaders who had previously but smiled when his name was

mentioned. All roads led to Mr. McCombs' room at the Willard Hotel, and when we returned to New York, either to his office at 96 Broadway, or to headquarters, but the shekels to carry on the good work were not forthcoming in any large amounts and Henry Morgenthau's $4,000 a month was indeed a life saver.

I remember that during the early days of the Presidential campaign, Mr. Morgenthau was informed by Mr. McCombs that he had overlooked the last $4,000 contribution to the prenomination campaign, whereupon Mr. Morgenthau handed me a check for the amount, saying: "Here, Lyons, give this to your boss. Ya, ya, Lyons, das Geld es ist etwass". (Yes, yes, Lyons, what a power money is.)

Hon. Abram I. Elkus, one of the leading members of the New York Bar, who later succeeded Mr. Morgenthau as Ambassador to Turkey, also had come forward with many good suggestions and financial as-

sistance. Mr. McCombs stated to me on one occasion that had he others about him with half the common sense of Mr. Elkus he could make much more headway. "Mr. Elkus is a man of big parts," he stated, "and if we are successful he should be appointed Attorney General, but I am unable to make any promises."

Another addition to his forces, the value of which could not be over-estimated, was F. B. Lynch, of St. Paul, Minn., the man whom friends lovingly called "Big Fred," and who was a power in the politics of his State. Mr. McCombs had been endeavoring through various channels to have him enlist under the Wilson banner, and great was his joy when, after the Jackson Day Banquet, Mr. Lynch decided to support the Governor. From that time on there was not an important conference into which Mr. Lynch was not called. In fact, Mr. McCombs made very few moves without first consulting Mr. Lynch, and counted on

Minnesota as safely for Wilson. His confidence in Lynch and his abilities was not misplaced, for Minnesota performed like a thoroughbred previous to and during the national convention.

The Clark and Harmon candidacies were taking on additional momentum. Speaker Clark's managers were circulating scurrilous literature with regard to Governor Wilson, but Mr. McCombs stated in letters to friends that he was sure Mr. Clark knew nothing about it. This damaging material had been sent into many of the western States where Mr. McCombs was fighting to hold the strength he enjoyed.

About this time Mr. McCombs came to the conclusion that inasmuch as Mr. Bryan had appeared so friendly at the Jackson Day Banquet, he would endeavor to enlist his support for Governor Wilson. He had heard that Colonel House and Mr. Bryan were friends, but it is strange that in this instance he did not himself visit Colonel

House, but arranged that Mr. Walker W. Vick and myself should call and, if possible, "sound out" the little man from Texas.

Colonel House received us most graciously, and after listening to our suggestions stated that in his opinion Colonel Bryan would be guided largely by the advice of Mrs. Bryan, and he thought if she could be won over to Governor Wilson's cause the channel would then be widened to such an extent that Colonel Bryan might eventually decide to enlist. Colonel House further stated that Mrs. Bryan was to have luncheon that day with Mrs. House and himself. It would appear that Colonel House did win over Mrs. Bryan and the great Commoner, for Mr. Bryan shortly thereafter stood staunchly by Governor Wilson in the Harvey-Watterson controversy, and later, during the month of March, Mr. McCombs addressed a communication to Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard, 20 Vesey Street, New York City, as follows:

*** "I am informed from Nebraska also that the Committee has demanded Clark's withdrawal from the race, agreeing to take him up as second choice after Wilson. You know our cause there is in the hands of Wm. J. Bryan's friends." ***

Speaker Clark was the victor in the primaries, but the support of the delegation went to Governor Wilson later, through the activities of Colonel Bryan.

Now permit me to return with my readers to the Harvey-Watterson-Wilson controversy, which happened in December of 1911. The smouldering fire burst into flame on January 17, 1912, when Colonel Watterson, in his own inimitable way, gave out the following statement:

"The conference between us in my apartment at the Manhattan Club was held to consider certain practical measures relating to Governor Wilson's candidacy. Colonel Harvey stood towards Governor Wilson much as I had stood five and thirty years ago toward Mr. Tilden. This appealed to me. Colonel Harvey had brought the Governor and myself together in his New Jersey home eighteen

months ago, and as time passed had interested me in his ambitions. I was hoping I might find in Governor Wilson another Tilden in point of intellect and advisability. I know that Colonel Harvey made no mistake in his choice of a candidate, but the circumstances leading to the unfortunate parting of the ways between them leads me to doubt whether in character and temperament it may not be merely in the habit of a lifetime, Governor Wilson is not rather the schoolmaster than the statesman. From the first there was a certain strain in Governor Wilson's manner, the absence of that cordiality and candor which should mark hearty confidential intercourse, intimating the existence of some adverse influence. His manner was autocratic, if not tyrannus. I did not take this to myself but thought it related to Colonel Harvey, and when Colonel Harvey, apparently overcome by Governor Wilson's austerity, put the direct question to Governor Wilson whether the support of *Harper's Weekly* was doing him an injury and received from Governor Wilson a cold rejoinder that it was, I was both surprised and shocked." ***

Mr. McCombs replied:

"It seems to me that Colonel Watterson has said all that needs to be said. It appears that as far back as last October he himself suggested to Governor Wilson that Colonel Harvey's support

through *Harper's Weekly* might be injurious, and that he probably told Colonel Harvey himself the same thing. It would seem that Colonel Watterson had convinced the Governor of the truth of his opinion and had at least impressed Colonel Harvey with the probability of its truth, else Colonel Harvey would not have pretended the question.

"It is passing strange that Colonel Watterson should feel concerned that the Governor in private conversation with himself and Colonel Harvey should in answer to a pointed question give frank expression to the very view which Colonel Watterson himself entertained and which he had communicated to the Governor and probably to Colonel Harvey.

"In October last, the very month in which he made these suggestions to Governor Wilson, Colonel Watterson said in the Louisville *Courier-Journal* editorially:

> " 'Two things seem tolerably sure to the surmise of the *Courier-Journal.* If Woodrow Wilson is nominated for President it will be through the force of an irresistible pressure of public opinion, and if he is defeated for the nomination it will be by some organized agency well backed with money. No Democrat of modern times has come into the running, Samuel J. Tilden alone excepted, with

half as much of the equipment and the claim of the New Jersey Governor.' "

"The tears that are being shed over the passing incident are wrung from those who have hitherto been the most conspicuous opponents of Governor Wilson. Witness the frequently-quoted statement of Mayor Dahlman of Omaha, Nebraska, who has for months not only been openly opposed to Governor Wilson, but who has been the aggressive champion of another candidate. The same applies to others who have indulged in lachrymosel expressions. This, of course, is to be expected whenever any man develops a decided lead for the nomination.

"The gist of the issue, as I see it, is whether one friend in private conversation with another should in answer to a plain question resort to flattery or dissimulation, or whether he should state the truth as he sees it."

The following day Colonel Watterson gave the "retort courteous" to Mr. McCombs:

"I have nothing to add to what has already been said unless it be seriously challenged by some responsible person. Then I may have a good deal to say."

William J. Bryan now entered the lists and on January 23d indorsed the attitude of Governor Wilson, giving out the following letter:

"The recent break between Governor Wilson and Colonel Harvey illustrates the impossibility of coöperation by the men who look at public questions from definite points of view. Colonel Harvey became a supporter of Mr. Wilson when he was selected as the Democratic candidate for Governor of New Jersey, and he continued his support when Governor Wilson began to be discussed as a candidate for the Presidency. Of course it is absurd for Colonel Harvey's friends to talk about his 'bringing Governor Wilson out'. No man or paper could have made Governor Wilson available as a candidate if he himself had not attracted attention; it would have been impossible for Colonel Harvey to have prevented a discussion of Governor Wilson's availability.

"But let us assume that Colonel Harvey was doing all that he could for his choice, what was the situation? His conspicuous support was not only of no advantage, but it had become actually a disadvantage; it would not bring to Governor Wilson the class for which Colonel Harvey speaks, but alienated men just as honest as Colonel Harvey's friends, who could not understand why Colonel Harvey praised Governor Wilson personally with-

out indorsing the things for which Governor Wilson stands. It naturally aroused suspicion as to the sincerity of one or the other, and, when Governor Wilson was asked the question, he admitted that he regarded the support of Colonel Harvey as a liability rather than an asset. Should he have pretended that he thought that Colonel Harvey was helping him when he was not? And why should Colonel Harvey complain? If he really favors Governor Wilson he must desire to aid him; why should he be offended, then, at Governor Wilson's frankness? Is he more interested in being known as 'the man who made Governor Wilson famous than in advancing Governor Wilson's cause?'

"Harvey has shown no signs of conversion. If he communes with Ananias it is not with any consciousness of blindness. He has seen no new light, and when he does he will feel so ashamed of his lifelong fight against progressive Democracy that his first desire will be to bring forth fruits to meet his repentance—not to assume leadership. It must pain Governor Wilson to break with his old friends, but the break must necessarily come unless he turns back or they go forward. A man is known by the company he keeps, and he cannot keep company with those going in opposite directions. Governor Wilson must prepare himself for other desertions; they will distress him, but there is abundant consolation of duty well done."

Senator Gore followed with a catapult in which he stated:

"This whole incident is a bubble, not a billow. It is not surprising, however, that the opponents of Wilson, being the friends of other candidates, should mistake the one for the other. It seems that the head and heart of the Governor's offending is that he told the truth.

"No honest man can accept an office, least of all the Presidency, with a lie upon his conscience or his conduct. No one has plenary power to select either his friends or his opponents in politics. To decline tendered aid and alliance is a most difficult and delicate task. Few men have the courage and candor to do this when battle is joined. Peradventure, the Governor may have learned by experience that there are men who would undertake to capitalize gratitude and then commercialize influence. He may have thought it just and timely to foreclose the possibility of such an attempt hereafter.

"The critics of Governor Wilson should tell the public frankly whether their candidates would assume such an obligation as the Governor declines, and, if so, whether their candidate would disregard or would discharge such obligations. The American people have the right to know the text and terms of all the mortgages and deeds of trust, either expressed or implied, under which a candi-

date for the Presidency may labor, and they have an equal right to know the names of all the mortgagees and beneficiaries of the trust. I would rather see Governor Wilson defeated and his heart an open book, 'that all who run may read,' than to see him triumphant with a skeleton in his political closet which had been concealed from the eyes of a confiding people."

But the facts! Mr. McCombs was informed that it was generally understood in most of the far western States, where Governor Wilson's strength was increasing, that *Harper's Weekly* was owned by the late J. Pierpont Morgan, and then news came to him that certain agents were busily engaged in organizing Wilson Clubs throughout those States, including in the membership a year's subscription to *Harper's Weekly* and a lithograph of Woodrow Wilson. Of course, shouts of "Morgan, Wall Street, and Wilson" came from the West to McCombs in the form of telegrams and letters, stating that unless the program was abandoned it would be charged that

Wilson was "sailing under false colors". Indeed, many of the papers were announcing that Governor Wilson had been "lassoed" by Wall Street, and that the evidence was conclusive by reason of the fact that George Harvey supported him. Mr. McCombs at once conferred with the Governor.

Will any one now assert that Woodrow Wilson erred, if upon these grounds alone, in refusing the support of *Harper's Weekly?*

Senator Tillman, of South Carolina, now enlivened matters by engaging in a controversy with Colonel Watterson on the subject of campaign funds, which brought forth the following statement by Mr. McCombs:

"I have read the correspondence interchanged between Colonel Watterson and Senator Tillman which appeared in this morning's papers. * * *

"From the beginning of the campaign for Governor Wilson which I have managed I have received all of the contributions made to it. They have uniformly been made by people who had no interest except the consummation of the ideals which

he represents. Not one of them expects any return.

"Any communication which has been had between myself and Colonel Watterson regarding campaign funds has taken place in personal interviews between him and myself. I intensely dislike to make a public statement of a private conversation, and regret very much that Colonel Watterson has forced me to do so.

"In October of last year I had a general conversation on Presidential politics with Colonel Watterson at the Waldorf, where he was stopping. In the course of that conversation he gave it as his opinion that a large amount of money would be needed and volunteered the suggestion that he would go and see his friend Mr. Ryan, and that he was sure he could induce him to make a very large contribution to the campaign.

"I said to him that we could not take Mr. Ryan's money and that such contributions were not within the spirit of the Woodrow Wilson campaign. His reply was:

" 'I have been in politics fifty years and I know that money and not patriotism counts in a Presidential campaign.'

"I repeated to Colonel Watterson that we could not take the money. Early in December I met him again and he renewed the discussion of the Ryan contribution. I made the same answer to him that I have made before.

"I heard nothing further from Colonel Watterson on this subject and thought no more of the conversation. I had not seen him since that time.

"If I mistake not there is an implication perhaps in Colonel Watterson's letter to Senator Tillman—probably not intended—to the effect that he secured funds for this campaign from Mr. Ryan. No such contribution has been made, and this, of course, Colonel Watterson well knows.

"The bombs exploded to divert attention each time Governor Wilson is about to speak, and exploding in the hands of those who throw them are rendering Wilson a real service. I will specify. Since the beginning of these attacks I have received in my mail many small contributions from all over the country from people who have not been asked to contribute and who neither I nor the Governor knows. Their letters all convey expression of resentment at the unfair and concerted attacks that are being made upon him."

Colonel Watterson on January 29th returned the following broadside, addressed "to the Democrats of the United States":

"The time limit set on my stay in the national capitol being about to expire, and Governor Wilson having refused my offer as to the issue of veracity he has raised between us to submit proof of the

truth of my averment to party associates competent to judge both of its character and the expediency of its publication—"

NOTE: Colonel Watterson had suggested that a Court of Honor be appointed to determine as to the veracity of Governor Wilson or himself in the matter.

"I shall bring this most distasteful episode to a close, as far as I am concerned.

"The claim that I must rush into print with this proof emanates either from the perverse or the malignant. I have it, am ready under proper supervision to produce it, and can be asked in reason to do no more. If I should publish it the very men who are demanding that I shall would be first to accuse me of reckless disregard of what they would call party prudence and private rights. The sole issue is whether I have lied, as Governor Wilson says I have, or he has lied, which I have engaged conclusively to show. He dare not face the facts.

"With as brief a review as may be of the circumstances to which I owe the misfortune of having made Governor Wilson's acquaintance, not to mention my endorsement of his plausible but specious pretensions, I shall cease to trouble the public with a controversy nowise of my seeking.

"During the early summer of 1910 I was passing a week-end with Colonel George Harvey, an old friend, at Deal Beach, his home in New Jersey.

There arrived for dinner Dr. Woodrow Wilson, then President of Princeton, and the Hon. James Smith, Jr., late a Senator in Congress.

"Dr. Wilson I had never met before. The talk at table was mainly about the prospective nomination of a Democratic candidate for Governor of New Jersey. Drawn into the conversation, I ventured the opinion that if nothing more than a Governorship was in sight it would be a sacrifice for Dr. Wilson to quit his exalted station for the head of the bullring of politics to struggle for preferment so ephemeral and uncertain.

"That was probably what Colonel Harvey, who seemed under some spell wrought by Dr. Wilson, had planned.

"Mr. Smith declared that he wanted nothing for himself; only to see the State redeemed; that no one but Dr. Wilson could redeem it and the like. In due season Dr. Wilson was nominated and elected.

"Not long after I was called to New York, the situation in New Jersey was explained to me. I was told that Mr. Smith wished to return to the Senate, despite his declaration that he wanted nothing for himself, that there had been a primary election, which had gone by default, in which a person of the name of Martine, represented as wholly unfit, had obtained a rather meager vote, that Governor Wilson held Senator Smith to his bond, and stood by the party pledge touching primary elections. In this he was clearly right.

"The Presidential campaign, to which the gubernatorial election had served as prelude, began. In a manner I had been dragooned, I will not say decoyed, into the service of Governor Wilson and Colonel Harvey. The succeeding ten months brought me into confidential relations with Governor Wilson. Letters passed between us. Upon his invitation and on his business I visited his home in Princeton. He was good enough last winter to come to the steamer to see me off for Europe. We were even caught by the inevitable kodak fiend and pictorialized in the ribald press side-by-side, making quite a touching group.

"I found him a man of polished manners, scholarly attainments and undeniable talents.

"On my return from abroad the Governor met me in New York. Again in November and December we foregathered there. In short, nothing was wanting to the most cordial and unrestrained intimacy.

"I make this detailed statement because the public might well fancy from the Governor's present attitude and tone that I had in some way thrust myself upon him, and that my friendship and support had not been desired by him.

"The fortnight immediately preceding the interview at the Manhattan Club, of which I have been at pains to say as little as was needful in justice between man and man, and men and men, I had done what I could in the interest of his campaign.

"I was met on my arrival in New York by a most urgent appeal for money from a gentleman of distinction, closely associated with, if not actually in the capacity of directing the Wilson organization, and in answer to this I was able at once to secure a considerable sum of money. The meeting at the Manhattan Club was designed still further to push forward and perfect the work of organization. Else, why and for what was the Governor there?

"To confuse and mislead the public he has latterly adopted a policy of alternate silence and sneering. Giving the lie direct to my statement that I was asked to help the financial end of his campaign and declining my offer to submit the proof of its truth to a body of gentlemen and Democrats equally concerned with ourselves for the well-being of the party, he thinks to cloud the issue and escape its menace by turning upon me the irresponsible chatter of a literary bureau which claims to live off the immaculate contributions of subscribers having wings, harps and halos, and which have been for weeks flooding the country with every manner of falsification. The very existence of this, to say nothing of the courses of its being, should set honest people to thinking.

"The Ryan story, which has made such an impression upon the unknowing and unreflecting, was, as far as it related to Colonel Harvey, a lie out of whole cloth. Though Governor Wilson

knows this, he has allowed it to circulate without a word of contradiction. The attempt which followed its exposure by me, to make it appear that I have intimated that application was made to Mr. Ryan, is cut off the same cloth, and is characteristic of the duplicity which attached itself to the entire proceeding of the Governor and his publicity agents.

"The suggestion of Mr. Ryan was eagerly caught up by those agents. Fancy a political promoter refusing money from anywhere or anybody! But when I spoke to Governor Wilson about it he said some uncivil things of Mr. Ryan, expressing a fear that if the knowledge of such a contribution got abroad it might do more harm than good—an opinion with which Colonel Harvey promptly concurred—and the matter went no further." ***

Seated at the table in the Waldorf-Astoria with Messrs. McCombs and Watterson, when Mr. McCombs, as he maintained, refused to consider a contribution from T. F. Ryan, was Mr. Byron R. Newton.

Mr. Newton and myself were with Mr. McCombs at his apartment in the Royalton, when the latter read that portion of Colonel Watterson's statement referring to the eagerness of "those agents" for Ryan's

financial assistance, whereupon Mr. McCombs requested Newton to issue a statement to the effect that he had been one of the party at the conference and that such a contribution had in fact been refused.

Mr. Newton declined to do so, upon the ground that he understood financial assistance would be welcome, whereupon Mr. McCombs gave out the following upon Mr. Newton's promise not to enter a denial:

"An analysis of Colonel Watterson's statement shows that he himself refutes every charge he has made in this—no, not controversy, for it isn't that—in this discussion.

"He says that a 'literary bureau' is busily engaged in circulating some story and that neither Governor Wilson nor his managers are doing anything to stop it. Now, every statement I have made—and there have been but two—has been made formally and in public. There has been nothing surreptitious about it. In my last statement I adverted to the charge that Mr. Ryan and his money had to do with the 'break' between Governor Wilson and Colonel Harvey.

"Colonel Watterson now says that Mr. Ryan never knew anything about this matter. That confirms absolutely what I said. That if we

Wilson managers had been so eager for Mr. Ryan's money, why didn't Colonel Watterson take the matter up with Mr. Ryan and get some of it for us? He says that Governor Wilson objected to it, which does away with the charge that the managers were eager for it. As a matter of fact Governor Wilson has no 'managers'; I am his only manager.

"This, it seems to me, puts the matter squarely up to Colonel Watterson himself. The whole Ryan story has been his. He should also name that 'man of distinction' who, he says, met him in New York to urge his activity in the matter of raising money. That, too, is part of his own story." ***

The following day at headquarters Mr. McCombs again begged Mr. Newton (the "man of distinction" to whom Colonel Watterson referred) to assist him and give out a statement, thus clearing the Ryan matter, but Mr. Newton positively refused, and his action brought about the estrangement which resulted in his resignation.

Mr. Hearst, one of the leading supporters of Speaker Clark, was vigorously attacking the candidacy of Governor Wilson through the columns of his powerful papers,

and Mr. McCombs received word that he was pounding away with a vengeance in Illinois. It was thereupon arranged that the Governor should speak on February 12th—Lincoln's Birthday—in the LaSalle Hotel, Chicago, at a luncheon given under the auspices of the Wilson organization, which had been established through Mr. McCombs and at the head of which were such splendid workers as Wm. Brown, Jr., a well-known Chicago attorney; Judge Lawrence B. Stringer, of Lincoln, Illinois; Irving Schuman, a banker of Sullivan, Illinois; and Rivers McNeil, who later was appointed Collector of the Port of Chicago; but Governor Wilson, though he reached the heights of eloquence during his masterly address, failed to stem the tide in favor of Speaker Clark. I shall never forget the expression on the face of Senator Saulsbury, who accompanied Mr. McCombs and myself, while he nervously pulled his large mustache and finally

stated: "Hell, come on, let's go to Kansas." The newspapers would hardly give us space.

The Governor's address was, however, put into pamphlet form and disseminated throughout Illinois and in other States where the cause might be benefited, but our activities so far as Illinois was concerned produced no "balm in Gilead".

Governor Wilson now led the way into Kansas, where he made a number of addresses and wound up with a rather disappointing talk in Topeka on the 22d—Washington's Birthday. The stage had all been set for the "Star", but it was manifest that he was very tired, and in the words of the vaudeville comedian, "the act fell flat".

The following day, after the Governor had departed, Mr. McCombs and Mr. Saulsbury endeavored to straighten out their lines by holding a conference at the Baltimore Hotel, Kansas City, with a number of followers, the leader of whom

was Henderson S. Martin, later appointed Vice-Governor of the Philippines, who, however, informed us to be prepared for the worst in the primaries, as the State had been flooded with the diatribes of Ex-Senator R. F. Pettigrew and former Congressman George Fred Williams, lieutenants of Speaker Clark, which had taken firm hold and could not well be uprooted. True to his prediction the State was lost, and shortly thereafter Mr. McCombs addressed a letter to Governor Wilson, as follows:

> *** "As I have said before, one of the difficulties of your campaign is that you have not had an opportunity to come in intimate contact with as many people as the other candidates. Clark's organization is built up through members and ex-members of Congress with whom he has had a long and personal relationship. This is a very strong influence and it is having its effect.
>
> "I was in Washington for an hour on my way here and was told of the adverse result in Kansas. We had by all odds the

cream of the organization there with us, and they worked very hard, I am told. This illustrates the necessity of your sending for your friends in Congress and having them come to see you. They would be very glad to do it, and I think it would have great influence.***

"The George Fred Williams and Pettigrew letters are the basis of attack in the Middle West. It succeeded in Kansas and is succeeding in Iowa." ***

Mr. Saulsbury, Mr. McCombs, and myself now traveled through Kentucky endeavoring to strengthen the weak spots, and conferences were had with Hon. Urey Woodson, Hon. Desha Breckenridge, and Governor Beckham.

Upon our return to New York on February 28th, it was ascertained that the Clark leaders were bombarding Governor Wilson with renewed energy, the basis of their attack, as heretofore, being a statement Governor Wilson had made in his "History of the American People", to the effect that Chinese labor was preferable in

this country to that of the Italians, Poles, and Hungarians. In California, for instance, it was playing havoc to such an extent that Senator James D. Phelan, one of the Wilson leaders there, was sorely perplexed and wrote Mr. McCombs in the matter, which brought the following reply:

"I have written a letter to Governor Wilson with reference to the Chinese matter. My suggestion is that you write him a letter with reference to his position on the matter and let him answer you. He has recently written a letter to Mr. Aylward of Wisconsin, in which he stated that with reference to the Italians, Poles and Hungarians he was referring to the period in which pauper labor was imported into the United States under contracts. This vicious practice led up to the enactment in the late 80's of the Anti-Contract Labor Law." ***

Governor Wilson was communicated with in the matter by Mr. McCombs, as follows:

"I have a letter from Mr. Phelan of San Francisco, our leader there, in which he says that the Chinese portion of your history is hurting you.*** Of course I take it the reference in your history has been misinterpreted. As I understand it you were merely referring to the Chinese as industrial units

and comparing their efficiency as laborers with the contract pauper labor that was brought over here. As I read your history you did not deal in any way with reference to the advisability of permitting unrestricted immigration or upon the character of their citizenship. I think Mr. Phelan is going to write you about the matter. A reply setting forth your position, which he would make public, would be of advantage to the situation." ***

The suggestion of Mr. McCombs was accepted by the Governor, and some of the strength which Speaker Clark held in sections where this Chinese matter had been beautifully worked up was neutralized.

On March 4th I journeyed to St. Louis on a political mission, and then crossed over to Chicago, where Mr. McCombs awaited me, for a conference with Roger Sullivan, who stated that the prospects of Wilson carrying Illinois in the primaries were hopeless; that Mr. Hearst had made too great inroads through his attacks, and that the minds of large numbers of the foreign element had been poisoned.

We turned our eyes to the South and on

March 17th arrived in Georgia, making the Bon Air Hotel at Augusta, our headquarters, Mr. McCombs having requested Vick to act with Colonel House in an advisory capacity during his absence. With the able assistance of Senator Saulsbury, who had preceded us, Mr. McCombs was brought in touch with many of the leaders throughout that section of the country.

McCombs now reached the conclusion that a triple alliance existed between Mr. Underwood, Mr. Clark, and Mr. Harmon to beat Governor Wilson, and wrote Colonel House as follows:

> "There is not the slightest doubt that Clark, Harmon, and Underwood are being financed from the same source. The former Harmon people in the West are now Clark people, and I find that the former Harmon people in the South are now Underwood people, and that neither Underwood nor Clark are running in the East. It is a question with us as to whether the people in Wall Street shall be able to get this nomination by the

use of money. My idea is that on all hands we howl about it and in that way we can nullify the efforts they are making.

"I have been a good deal concerned about Texas from what I have heard from various sources, but I take your assurances as to the situation there as absolute." ***

On March 24th Mr. McCombs and myself arrived in Atlanta and conferred with James D. McNeel and General Bibb Graves, who with Governor B. B. Comer and Walker W. Vick were later instrumental in holding the Alabama Delegation in line for Underwood until it should break in favor of Governor Wilson. But this phase of the proceedings will be taken up later.

Our next stop was New Orleans, where Mr. McCombs got in touch with that good old war-horse Colonel Robert Ewing, National Committeeman for Louisiana, and much was accomplished in the way of seeing that his State would remain neutral as between Clark and Wilson, as would also

Mississippi, McCombs having been brought in touch with Lieutenant-Governor Bilbo of the latter State.

Upon our arrival in Little Rock, Arkansas, we found that the Clark forces had stolen a long march on us and that the Speaker could not be withheld from carrying the primaries, so we returned to Chicago, where Roger Sullivan finally informed us that Illinois would be lost, mainly through Mr. Hearst's onslaughts of Governor Wilson.

At this time Mr. McCombs was indebted to the extent of some $40,000, and was planning day and night to procure the whole or part thereof. He was aware that his bright chances for obtaining funds had gone aglimmering with Speaker Clark making such inroads in States where he had hoped the Governor would prevail. He had, however, one hope in the form of a letter of introduction to Mr. Charles R. Crane, of Chicago, which had been sent him by Mr. Mark Sullivan, of *Collier's Weekly*,

in response to his (McCombs') appeal, as follows:

"My dear Sullivan:

"Your letter of March 8th has been forwarded to me in Georgia.

"The enclosure was very interesting. I hope to get back to New York very shortly. Before I return I shall go into Chicago and see Mr. Crane. Can't you help me a little bit with a letter? You of course understand what I want. With kind regards, I am, Yours sincerely."

Mr. Crane presented his check for $5,000, but McCombs was still some $35,000 "in the hole", and even Henry Morgenthau's $4,000 a month could not dissipate the blackness which seemed to permeate the financial atmosphere, for ere Mr. McCombs had fondled Mr. Crane's contribution long, a call for the "life buoy" came from Wisconsin, where Hon. Joseph E. Davies, later Chairman of the Federal Trade Commission, was making a gallant fight to save the State for Governor Wilson in the coming primaries, and the $5,000

took flight to Madison, accompanied by a letter from McCombs to Mr. Davies in which he stated:

"Here is some bloody sweat. Return it to me if you can."

On April 9th in the Illinois primaries, Speaker Clark won by over 140,000 majority.

On April 30th Massachusetts gave Clark an overwhelming majority, and the Speaker duplicated in Rhode Island.

Mr. McCombs became disheartened. He addressed a letter to Governor Wilson, as follows:

"MY DEAR GOVERNOR:

"The fight seems to be going against us, but be assured I shall not abate my efforts and I still think you have a chance to be nominated. Sincerely yours."

I remember distinctly Governor Wilson's reply, to the effect that Texas would be all right, as well as Pennsylvania, and these States, together with votes which he would

receive from some of the others, would place him in a very fair position.

Governor Wilson was victor in the Wisconsin primaries by 9,000 plurality.

On April 19th Nebraska was instructed for Speaker Clark, and on the same day Oregon instructed for Wilson.

On May 6th Maryland in State Convention supported Clark, and the following day Pennsylvania in Convention endorsed Wilson.

On May 14th Clark captured California by 20,000 votes, and he repeated two days later in Iowa.

Mr. McCombs' office and the headquarters at 42 Broadway were deserted. It appeared as though many of the supporters of a month or two ago were now leaning strongly toward Speaker Clark's candidacy, and from information that we received the Clark forces were jubilant and confident of victory. Mr. McAdoo, Senator Saulsbury, Mr. Elkus, Mr. Morgenthau,

and a few other staunch friends were about all that called and conferred.

New Jersey, which held its presidential primary on May 28th, gave Governor Wilson a majority of 16,000 and twenty-four of the twenty-eight delegates, the sore spot being Essex County, former Senator James Smith's balliwick.

And be it known that Governor Burke, of North Dakota, although a "favorite son" candidate for the Presidency, had written Mr. McCombs that he would turn over his delegation to Governor Wilson whenever the word was given. He was rewarded with the appointment of United States Treasurer.

By June 1, 1912, the conventions and primaries in the States were at an end.

The leaders in some of the States which it had been impossible for Mr. McCombs and myself to visit, such as Colorado, Utah, Maine, and Tennessee, were supplied with "working capital", and it was confidently

expected that their delegations would "fall into the bag" in due course. They performed admirably.

The contributions which Mr. McCombs had received during the prenomination campaign totaled approximately $210,000, of which Charles R. Crane, Chicago, Ill.; Cleveland H. Dodge, Henry Morgenthau, Abram I. Elkus, James Sheldon, F. C. Penfield, and Walter L. McCorkle, of New York City; Joseph F. Guffy, Pittsburgh, Pa.; John Martin, Stapleton, N. Y.; James Sprunt, Wilmington, N. C.; Edward W. Filene, Boston, Mass.; Hugh MacRae, Wilmington, N. C.; C. A. Snow, Washington, D. C.; John Barton Payne, Chicago, Ill.; John P. Parker, Munro, La.; and Walter H. Page, Garden City, Long Island, were the principal subscribers.

CHAPTER II

The Baltimore Convention

ON June 18th, Mr. Vick and I arrived at the Emerson Hotel, Baltimore, where arrangements were perfected for the establishment of Wilson Headquarters, and rooms were engaged for Mr. McCombs, Senator Gore, and a number of other workers. Mr. McCombs had also personally arranged for a private suite in the Latrobe Apartments, arriving in Baltimore on the 20th.

On June 21st the name of Hon. Alton B. Parker, of New York, having been presented for the office of Temporary Chairman of the Democratic National Convention, Mr. Bryan stoutly opposed him on the ground that he had been nominated to lead the forces of Democracy four years previous through the activities of Thomas

To Mr Maurice F. Lyons
with compliments of W. J. Bryan

F. Ryan and August Belmont, and that he was a reactionary. The Great Commoner had sent the following telegram to Messrs. Clark, Wilson, Underwood, and Harmon:

"In the interest of harmony I suggested to the sub-committee of the Democratic National Committee the advisability of recommending as Temporary Chariman some Progressive acceptable to the leading Progressive candidates for the Presidential nomination. I take it for granted that no committeeman interested in Democratic success would desire to offend the members of a convention overwhelmingly progressive by naming a reactionary to sound the keynote of the campaign.

"Eight members of the sub-committee, however, have, over the protest of the remaining eight, agreed upon not only a reactionary but upon the one Democrat, who among those not candidates for the Presidential nomination, is, in the eyes of the public most conspicuously identified with the reactionary element of the Party.

"I shall be pleased to join you and your friends in opposing his selection by the full committee or by the Convention."

On the 22d, Governor Wilson called up Mr. McCombs at Headquarters, where-

upon I was requested to take the reply that the Governor had sent to Mr. Bryan, part of which had been suggested by McCombs, and which was as follows:

"You are quite right. Before hearing of your message I clearly stated my position. The Baltimore Convention is to be a convention of Progressives, of men who are progressive in principle and by conviction. It must, if it is not to be put in a wrong light in its own organization, express its convictions in its organization and in its choice of men who are to speak for it. You are to be a member of this convention and are entirely within your rights in doing everything within your power to bring that result about. No one will doubt where my sympathies lie, and you will, I am sure, find my friends in the convention acting upon clear conviction and always in the interest of the peoples' cause. I am happy in the confidence that they need no suggestion from me."

Mr. McCombs was exceedingly disappointed, for he had advised that no direct committal be made on the question, but the statement made by Mr. Tumulty that McCombs threw himself across a bed and wept is erroneous. Mr. McCombs was too

busy to weep. Mr. Tumulty's assertion, having been based on hearsay, is of little weight, as are any other of his statements with regard to the prenomination campaign, the Baltimore Convention, or the Presidential Campaign, for the reasons that he was not directly connected with the prenomination campaign, was not at the Baltimore Convention, having remained at Sea Girt, N. J., and was only at Headquarters a few times during the Presidential campaign.

After the convention had been called to order by Chairman Norman E. Mack on June 25th, he submitted, on instruction of the National Committee, the name of Hon. Alton B. Parker for Temporary Chairman. Mr. Bryan presented the name of Hon. John W. Kern, of Indiana, and stated that in the interest of harmony he had advised the Committee to consult the two leading candidates, who together had nearly two-thirds of the vote of the convention in-

structed for them, and get their approval of some man's nomination so that there might be no contest; that in the sub-committee the friends of Mr. Clark and the friends of Mr. Wilson were not able to agree, but that in the full committee of the night before the friends of Mr. Wilson joined the friends of Mr. Clark in the support of Hon. Ollie James, Speaker Clark's choice, and yet the Committee turned down the joint request thus made.

The day before Mr. McCombs, Mr. Saulsbury, Robert S. Hudspeth, Senator Gore, A. Mitchell Palmer, Joseph E. Davies, and other friends had decided to swing their delegates to Mr. James, who was both Mr. Bryan's and Mr. Clark's friend, and thus be placed in splendid position.

Mr. Kern refused the nomination, and finally placed Mr. Bryan himself before the convention as the nominee.

Mr. McCombs now played to Mr. Bryan, inasmuch as he was convinced Governor

Wilson's attitude toward the Colonel demanded it, and he told me that he would rise or fall with this program.

The result of the vote on the temporary chairmanship was Parker 579, Bryan 508, with the original Wilson States, Delaware, New Jersey, Minnesota, North Dakota, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Texas, and Wisconsin, voting in accordance with Mr. McCombs' and the steering committee's orders, for Bryan.

The Clark forces threw their vote to Parker.

Bryan was defeated, but McCombs and his friends had been the warriors that cast their fatal lances into the candidacy of Speaker Clark, and when I saw McCombs later that night he said: "Don't worry, Bryan's strength will eventually be placed in the lap of the Governor".

In the midst of this mêlée Colonel House was called to Europe, sailing from Boston, but before embarking he wrote two letters

to Governor Wilson, the first of which recommended the formation in the convention of a flying squadron of ten delegates, they to work among others and thus form as many tens as could be mustered, with a view of obtaining the greatest efficiency.

The second communication set forth the opinion that if Speaker Clark was not nominated on the early ballots, Wilson's chances of becoming the nominee would be much brighter, and the Colonel suggested, in the event of the Governor's nomination, that Wm. F. McCombs, Senator James A. O'Gorman, and Congressman A. S. Burleson be placed in charge of the presidential campaign.

Governor Wilson thereupon sent the letters to Mr. Vick, at the Emerson Hotel, Baltimore, stating that he had a very high regard for the opinions of Colonel House, and requesting that McCombs make the best possible use of the Colonel's suggestions.

The first ballot on the Presidential candidacy was taken June 28th at about 6.30 A. M., Clark receiving 440½ votes, and Wilson 324 votes, about 20 more than Mr. McCombs had figured on, and the Clark forces being apparently satisfied with their strength on the initial test, moved, through Senator Luke Lea, that the convention adjourn until 4 P. M. Mr. McCombs and his friends desired that the voting continue, and accordingly National Committeeman Robert Ewing, of Louisiana, moved to lay Senator Lea's motion on the table, but on a vote of the question, the Clark forces prevailed.

The situation in Oklahoma was a peculiar one, in that for the sake of harmony the delegation had been divided equally between Clark and Wilson, with Senator Gore and "Alfalfa Bill" Murray piloting the destinies of the Governor under Mr. McCombs. On the tenth ballot Delegate Hite demanded a poll of the delegation, with a

view of causing its vote to be recorded for Clark, but Murray explained that being a member of the Wilson unit, Mr. Hite's vote would have to be recorded for the Governor, and his contention was sustained.

Mr. McCombs' plan also was to have his friends on the delegations for Clark, Underwood, and Harmon demand that polls be taken and thus demonstrate the strength of Wilson, even though it could not be exercised because of the unit rule. This procedure started on the third ballot with Ohio, in which it was shown that Wilson had 13 votes, and then came Arizona with 1 vote; Idaho, 2 votes; Tennessee, 5½ votes; Washington, 2½ votes; Wyoming, 2 votes; Iowa, 9 votes; New York, 9 votes, and later New Mexico, West Virginia, Florida and Maryland all showed much strength for Wilson.

The effect of these polls upon large numbers of delegates could not be over-

estimated. It was McCombs' idea and he should have credit for it.

But let us return to the tenth ballot on which Speaker Clark received 556 votes and Governor Wilson 350½, whereupon Chairman James announced that no candidate having received two-thirds of the vote cast no nomination was made; that Mr. Clark having received eleven more than a majority was not the nominee until he received two-thirds.

Congressman A. Mitchell Palmer, one of the pioneers in the Wilson movement and a member of the steering committee, rose to a parliamentary inquiry as to what was the purpose of the Chair in announcing that one candidate had received a majority of the votes.

Chairman James replied that he wished it to be understood that a majority does not nominate, but that under the rules of the convention it took two-thirds. The Chairman was "cornered", for in Mr. Palmer

he faced a seasoned parliamentarian and a splendidly equipped debater.

Mr. McCombs in his autobiography sets forth that A. Mitchell Palmer sought the Presidential nomination. The statement is erroneous. Palmer fought from first to last for the nomination of Woodrow Wilson and never abated his efforts until victory was won.

The States of Alabama, Georgia, Florida, Louisiana, and Mississippi were ready to swing to Clark on this ballot, but Mr. McCombs' friends on or accompanying those delegations held them in line for Underwood until the break on the forty-sixth ballot, when there was no alternative but to be for Wilson. They totaled 94 votes, which, had they gone to Clark would have given him 650 votes, and there would have been a stampede to him, for 75½ more votes would have made him the nominee.

Let it be noted to the credit of Mr. Walker W. Vick that he, in conjunction

with General Bibb Graves, former Governor Comer, and others, held the Alabama Delegation in check. Vick then turned to Florida and with the assistance of Frank L. Mayes, of Pensacola, and National Committeeman J. T. G. Crawford, held the State in line against the onslaughts of the Clark leaders. The Georgia Delegation, sensing a tornado, gave Vick the word that she would declare for Wilson as soon as Alabama led the way.

On June 29th, Governor Wilson called Mr. McCombs on the telephone in the convention hall. Mr. Vick and myself were requested to take his message. The sheet containing the first part of the message became torn and I therefore had it typewritten, for it was the Governor's wish that it be handed to Mr. Bryan. Here is the first part of the message:

> "It has become known that the present deadlock is being maintained for the purpose of enabling New York, a delegation

controlled by a single group of men, to determine the nominee and thus bind the candidate to them. In these circumstances it is the imperative duty of each candidate for the nomination to see to it that his own independence is beyond question. I can see no other way to do this than to declare that he will not accept the nomination if it cannot be secured without the aid of that delegation. For myself I have no hesitation in making that declaration. The freedom of the Party and its candidate and the security of the Government against private control constitutes the supreme consideration.

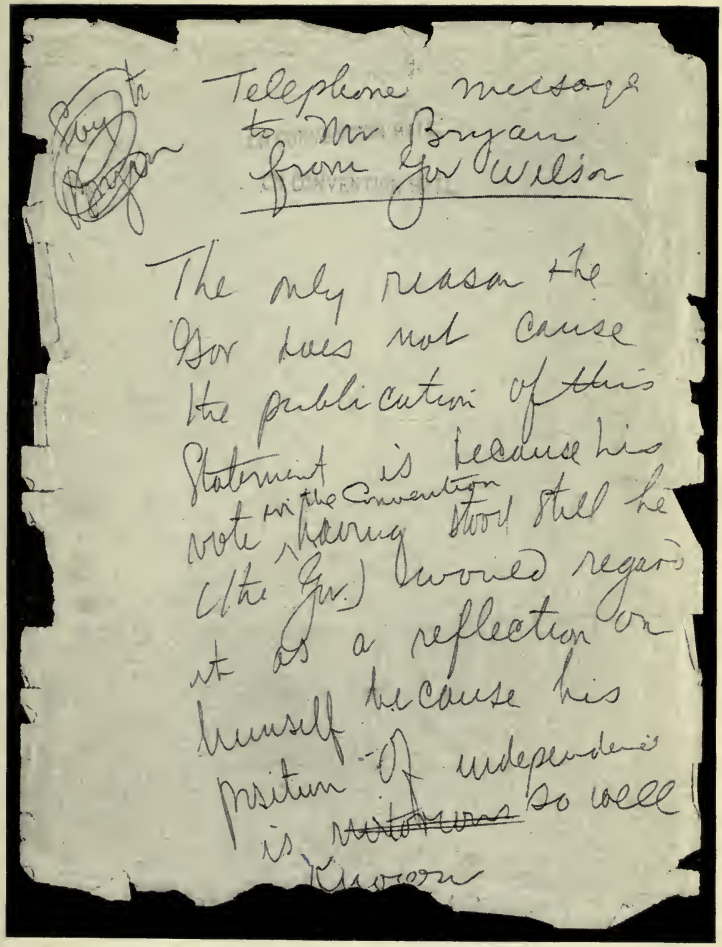
WOODROW WILSON."

The second part of the message was:

"The only reason the Governor does not cause the publication of this statement is because his vote in the convention having stood still, he (the Governor) would regard it as a reflection on himself because his position of independence is so well known."

The above message was received while the thirteenth ballot was being taken.

When the Secretary proceeded to call



Telephone message
to Mr Bryan
from Gov Wilson

The only reason the
Gov does not cause
the publication of this
Statement is because his
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(the Gov.) would regard
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is ~~notorious~~ so well
known

the roll for the fourteenth ballot and reached the State of Nebraska, Delegate Loomis asked that it be passed for the present. A little later Nebraska was again called and Senator Hitchcock requested that the Delegation be polled.

When the name of William Jennings Bryan was called, the great Commoner rose to explain his vote, and stated that as long as Ryan's agent—as long as New York's ninety votes were recorded for Speaker Clark, he (Bryan) would withhold his vote from him, and as the announcement was to be made as to how it would be cast a demonstration took place. Senator Stone, one of Mr. Clark's managers, asked for order and moved that Mr. Bryan be allowed to explain his vote.

Mr. Bryan then stated that the convention by a vote of more than four to one had pledged the country that it would nominate for the Presidency no man who represented or was obligated to Morgan, Ryan, Belmont,

or "any other member of the privilege-seeking, favor-hunting class". He further set forth that the vote of the State of New York as cast under the unit rule did not represent the intelligence, the virtue, the Democracy, or the patriotism of the ninety men comprising it, but that it represented the will of Charles F. Murphy, and that he represented the influences that dominated the Republican Convention at Chicago, and were trying to dominate the Democratic Convention. He further let it be known that he would withhold his vote from Mr. Clark as long as New York's vote was recorded for him, and that this position would be taken in regard to any other candidate whose name was now or might be later placed before the convention, and that with this understanding he would cast his vote for Nebraska's second choice, Woodrow Wilson.

Governor Wilson's message to Mr. Bryan had "turned the trick".

Whereas the thirteenth ballot had shown Nebraska to be 13 for Clark and 3 for Wilson, on the fourteenth ballot it registered 4 for Clark and 12 for Wilson.

From the eleventh to the twenty-third ballot two unruly members of the Oregon Delegation had switched to Clark, although in the primaries the 10 delegates from that State had been instructed to vote for Wilson until it was apparent he could not be nominated. Judge Will R. King, National Committeeman and leader of the delegation, got in touch with me and we wrote letters to these men, advising them to change their votes to Wilson or not attempt to cross the border into Oregon. On the twenty-fourth ballot Judge King drove one of them to cover, and on the twenty-seventh ballot the other insurgent hoisted the white flag and entered the reservation. Of course the move was an effort to start a slide of the delegation to Clark, but Judge King "threw the sand"

in time to stop it. Mr. McCombs congratulated the Judge, and he deserved it, for he had had a hard tussle with these two stubborn delegates.

Meanwhile Indiana had been consistently supporting its "favorite son", Governor Thomas R. Marshall, but at a meeting between Mr. Thomas Taggart, Chairman of the Delegation, and Mr. McCombs, it was agreed to swap votes for the Vice-Presidential nomination the following Monday if Wilson still held his strength.

On the last ballot of the day, the twenty-sixth, the vote stood Clark 463½, Wilson 407½.

While the balloting was in progress Roger Sullivan called a caucus of the Illinois Delegation, and McCombs, Vick, and myself, who waited nearby, were finally informed by Sullivan that he would bring the delegation to Wilson on the first ballot after midnight for a limited period, but in the meantime A. Mitchell Palmer,

who had not been advised of the caucus, had requested an adjournment until the following Monday, which was granted, and Mr. McCombs became frantic, being joined by Congressman Burleson and Senator Hughes in the attack on Palmer. Roger Sullivan threw his hands in the air and said: "I fear you won't be able to hold your lines over Sunday".

The Wilson "rooters" in the galleries had been a source of torment to the Clark aggregation, and it was moved that all persons be excluded except delegates, alternates, representatives of the press, and officials connected with the convention.

Mr. Palmer made the point that the resolution was not in order, because his motion to adjourn was not debatable, and he was sustained. He was watching like a hawk and he knew his business well.

To Joseph E. Davies, National Committeeman from Wisconsin, must go the credit for packing the galleries with Wilson

supporters. During the early proceedings of the convention it had been ordered that those without badges be not permitted to enter the armory. Mr. Davies thereupon moved that as the supply of badges was inadequate, orders of admission signed by the Secretary of the National Committee and countersigned by the Sergeant-at-Arms be recognized. The motion was jammed through, and Davies feverishly signed thousands of these orders. Soon a mass of the Governor's followers surged through the doors and were assigned to advantageous positions about the hall.

At 11.55 P. M. the Convention adjourned, and Mr. McCombs, instead of going to his rooms in the Emerson Hotel, repaired to his suite in the Latrobe Apartment with Roger Sullivan, who in my presence informed McCombs that he would have to call another caucus on Sunday or Monday before he could again pledge the vote of the Illinois Delegation for Wilson.

Let me in all fairness and with all kindness deny the statement in Mr. McCombs' biography that he had any interview with Mr. Bryan in the Emerson Hotel that night in which Colonel Bryan suggested himself as the only logical candidate and that Governor Wilson's cause be deserted, because he (McCombs) was not there.

I had hardly reached my room when Mr. McCombs 'phoned for me and I hurriedly returned to his apartment, where I found him in deep thought. Presently he stated:

"Lyons, I'm afraid of a deadlock. If Sullivan doesn't perform Bryan may again be nominated."

I replied: "We must force Sullivan to perform. Get the Illinois crowd to send messages to those back home asking them to telegraph their delegates to break and come across for Wilson before it's too late."

Mr. McCombs thought the idea was passably fair. He then told me of a meet-

ing he had attended the previous afternoon at which representatives of Speaker Clark, Congressman Underwood, and the other candidates were present, with the intention of endeavoring to agree upon a candidate; that Senator Stone had called upon him for his views, but that he had parried and thrown the burden on him. "They tried to corner me," he said, "but I wriggled out."

In the meantime Senator Saulsbury had been hammering away at the States of Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, and Kentucky, which on the last ballot of the day stood 12 for Clark, 2½ for Wilson, 1½ not voting; 3 for Clark, 9½ for Wilson, 11½ for Underwood; 16 for Clark; and 26 for Clark, respectively, and it was Mr. Saulsbury's conviction that the time was ripe to gather them in. They were more or less connected in sentiment, but not one could be turned to the Wilson column without the concurrence of their leaders, Senator John Walter Smith, Senators Martin

and Swanson, Senator Watson, and National Committeeman John C. C. Mayo, respectively. Now, Saulsbury had maintained friendly connections with the Democratic Senators during the prenomination campaign in the interest of Governor Wilson and knew practically all of them, some quite intimately. In the case of Maryland there was some family connection between him and Senator Smith. Mr. Saulsbury told McCombs that Senator Smith was not unfriendly to Governor Wilson, but his delegation had remained steadfastly with Clark because of primary instructions.

Early Sunday morning Mr. Saulsbury visited Senator Smith, hoping to find that the Clark men had abandoned hope and Maryland would feel she was released from Clark instructions. It was then arranged between Saulsbury and Senator Smith to have a conference that afternoon between the representatives of all four States, but Mr. Saulsbury recognizing McCombs' posi-

tion, arranged that he also attend the meeting. At this session were the leaders of Maryland, West Virginia, and Kentucky, Virginia's representatives sending word that they would remain in friendly association with the other States I have mentioned. It was agreed that at the most favorable opportunity to try out the possibility of nominating Governor Wilson, that the votes of these States would be transferred to him.

Sunday night a caucus of the Illinois Delegation was had, and Roger Sullivan informed Mr. McCombs that he could make no pledges as to any specific ballot, but that the Delegation would swing to Governor Wilson at the first opportunity.

Senator Shively of Indiana, who ascertained through some friends on the Illinois Delegation what Sullivan had stated, said: "It's all over."

As the balloting continued on July 1st, Tom Taggart abided by his agreement and

CALIFORNIA

threw the strength of 29 of the 30 votes of the Indiana Delegation to Wilson, amid a roar from the occupants of the galleries.

On the twenty-ninth ballot, when the question arose as to how the votes of Kansas should be cast, A. Mitchell Palmer, in a clear statement, explained that Woodrow Wilson had two-thirds of the vote of that delegation, and therefore under the unit rule was entitled to the whole vote, further setting forth that while Kansas was entitled to 20 votes, she did not have those votes at the particular time and that 13 of the 19 delegates present constituted two-thirds of the delegation on the floor. Mr. Palmer's contention was sustained amid great applause.

In accordance with my idea Mr. McCombs now passed the word that telegrams be sent to friends throughout Illinois requesting them to wire the delegation to break from Clark to Wilson, and it was not long before the messages began to arrive in droves.

ANDOVER

Very early the following morning I was summoned to Mr. McCombs' apartment, and he said:

"Lyons, we've got to put it across to-day or we're licked. We've got to have Illinois."

He was very tired. His face was yellow and drawn. I can again see him as he worked among the sweltering delegates, endeavoring to augment the vote he and his friends had acquired for Governor Wilson. He was a very sick man, but his indomitable will plus the intense excitement held him on his feet.

That day as the first States were being called on the forty-third ballot, McCombs got to Sullivan and said:

"Roger, we've got to have Illinois, or I'll withdraw."

The statement was not a weakness on McCombs' part, but in the nature of a plea for the delegation.

Sullivan replied: "Sit steady, boy," and shortly thereafter Roger Sullivan instructed

Roger C. Sullivan

To Maurice F. Lyons
from
[illegible]

For Maurice F. Lyons
With best regards
[illegible]

the Illinois delegates to switch to Wilson. One of the delegates stated: "What excuse can we make to the folks back home?" Taking a handful of the telegrams which had been received by his colleagues and self, Sullivan excitedly waved them on high and shouted: "I'll show them these".

I cannot close the Roger Sullivan episode without words of praise for Mr. Irving Schuman, of Sullivan, and Mr. Henry Pindell, of Peoria, members of the Illinois Delegation, who had the confidence of Mr. Sullivan at all times and did splendid work in the cause.

Senator Saulsbury now saw some of the fruits of his work on Sunday, as Virginia swung her 24 votes to Wilson, and West Virginia followed with her 16 votes, while on the forty-fifth ballot the vote of Maryland was about divided, but Kentucky broke her pledge and still voted for Clark.

This avalanche was the beginning of the end. McCombs and Saulsbury gave Sen-

ator Smith, of Maryland, and Senator Watson, of West Virginia, credit for producing the result. While Senator Smith, unfortunately, was unable to swing the entire Maryland Delegation, he was a power with the delegations of Virginia and West Virginia, Kentucky remaining out in the cold with New York, but Senator Saulsbury was the moving spirit in the whole matter.

On the forty-sixth ballot, Senator Bankhead withdrew Mr. Underwood's name from before the convention, whereupon Senator Stone stated that he would release the obligation imposed upon any Clark delegate in the convention. A short time previous word had been carried through the convention hall that Speaker Clark had come on from Washington and might endeavor to stem the tide by personally appearing and addressing the delegates. What the effect of his presence might have been must remain an unanswered question.

Woodrow Wilson received 990 votes on the last ballot, his nomination was subsequently made unanimous, and Chairman James announced:

"I declare Woodrow Wilson, of New Jersey, the nominee of this convention for the office of President of the United States."

Mr. McCombs stood on the platform endeavoring to contain himself, while National Committeeman John T. McGraw danced about and then embraced him. I stood right below Mr. McCombs. We clasped hands and I congratulated him. He steadied himself and looked out upon the mass of coatless, collarless, perspiring delegates as a General upon his victorious forces. Then he waved to the occupants of the galleries, especially to the Princeton boys who were "tearing things apart" in their joy.

Mr. Tumulty has stated that Woodrow Wilson was not nominated and elected because of, but in spite of Wm. F. McCombs. How unfair, how cruel!

Later in the day Charles Bryan called up at the Emerson from the Belvidere Hotel and stated:

"Colonel Bryan would like Mr. McCombs to come over and see us."

Mr. McCombs stood at my side and requested I reply that he would do so. He was completely worn out and extremely irritable. I insisted that he lie down for a while. He did not keep the appointment, later addressing a letter of apology to Mr. Bryan at Lincoln, Neb. He returned to the convention hall that evening, and on the first ballot for the Vice-Presidential candidacy received the complimentary vote of the Arkansas Delegation, his native State.

Governor Marshall received the nomination on the second ballot. It had all been fixed.

Later I was hurriedly called to Mr. McCombs' rooms by Mr. Pence and Mr. Vick, who informed me that the chief was

desperately ill and that a physician had been sent for. I immediately telephoned Governor Wilson and decided to remain with Mr. McCombs through the night, taking an adjoining room.

Early on the morning of July 3d, Mr. McCombs, to my surprise, entered my room fully dressed. It was indeed remarkable that he was able to recuperate sufficiently to be able to stand. He informed me that he was going to Sea Girt. I shall never forget the meeting of Governor Wilson and McCombs, as the Governor, surrounded by his friends and the newspapermen, grasped the hand of his Manager and stated so affectionately:

> "My dear McCombs, I want to thank you for all your own faithful labors. I have been sorely distressed since Lyons telephoned me of your illness."

CHAPTER III

The Presidential Campaign

ON July 14th Mr. McCombs and myself left for Chicago, where a meeting of the National Committee was to be held the following day and, in accordance with the wishes of Governor Wilson, he was to be elected Chairman of the Democratic National Committee.

In the course of a conversation in our stateroom, Mr. McCombs inquired as to whether I thought he would be strong enough physically to last through the Presidential campaign. I replied emphatically that I did not think so. I was a walking dispensary. I carried a grip containing various pills and medicines which I gave him at prescribed intervals.

Mr. McCombs said: "I realize that I am very ill. I believe I have accomplished all

that should be expected of me. I remember the statement of Mr. Whitney, President Cleveland's manager, that no man could go through two campaigns and retain his health. I have often thought of that."

Almost immediately after the meeting convened, Mr. Hudspeth, of New Jersey, nominated Mr. McCombs for the office, which was seconded by Mr. Taggart, of Indiana, and made unanimous by the Committee.

After he had taken the gavel from Mr. Norman E. Mack, the retiring Chairman, and made a few pleasant remarks, he stated that the next business would be the selection of a secretary, and Mr. Hudspeth thereupon placed in nomination Mr. Joseph E. Davies, of Wisconsin. The nomination being seconded by Mr. John E. Osborne, of Wyoming, Mr. Davies was duly elected.

Mr. McCombs now moved that the Committee proceed to the completion of its

organization electing a Sergeant-at-Arms, and Col. John I. Martin was designated.

I could not quite understand why the office of treasurer should have been omitted, but presently Mr. Hudspeth offered the following:

> "*Resolved*, That the Chairman be authorized and empowered to select, by and with the advice of the nominee for President, a campaign committee to consist of not less than nine members, a majority of whom shall be members of the National Committee, said Committee to be vested with full power to conduct the national campaign and to do all acts and things necessary and proper to carry into effect the objects of this resolution. This committee shall have power also to appoint a Treasurer of the National Committee, and all committees and other officers, and to establish rules governing its action. The Chairman of the National Committee shall be the Chairman of this Committee."

The motion was seconded by Mr. Taggart and unanimously carried.

The following day we returned to New York, and after a week during which much unanswered correspondence was taken care of and the subject of a place as headquarters fully discussed, we went to Bretton Woods, N. H., so that Mr. McCombs might have at least a few days of real rest before the first meeting of the Committee in the Fifth Avenue Building, on the 29th of July.

While we were lounging about in the Mt. Washington Hotel, the following telegram was received from Governor Wilson:

"July 24, 1912.

WILLIAM F. MCCOMBS,
Bretton Woods, N. H.

"Would be very much obliged if you would notify McAdoo at once that he is to act as Vice-Chairman of the National Committee. This is of the first consequence. W. W."

Mr. McCombs showed me the telegram and asked my opinion in the matter. I stated a message should be sent the

Governor informing him that after the campaign committee had been formed, in accordance with the resolution adopted at Chicago, Mr. McAdoo's name would be placed before it and a statement made at the time that it was his (the Governor's) desire that Mr. McAdoo be appointed as Vice-Chairman.

It was now almost impossible for me to handle Mr. McCombs. He appeared at time to be abnormal. As he walked away with the telegram, I said: "I suppose you think I'm a hell-of-a secretary, but I defy you to tell me I'm not a mighty good nurse." I myself was very nervous, but the next moment was extremely sorry I had spoken harshly to him. He turned, limped to my side, and apologized in a way that brought tears to my eyes. I determined that thereafter I would never cross him. Poor, sick McCombs.

Upon our return to New York we went to headquarters, where later the first

meeting of the Campaign Committee was called and at which Senator James Reed, of Missouri, was present. I remember distinctly the most friendly greeting between the Senator, Mr. McCombs, and Mr. McAdoo, and Senator Reed's remark: "Now that we are all working for the Governor, let us be open and frank with one another." Whereupon he presented many valuable suggestions. The question of Mr. McAdoo's appointment as Vice-Chairman was not brought to the attention of the Committee at this session, during which the Directors of the various divisions were designated, as follows:

Finance Division,	Henry Morgenthau.
Publicity Division,	Josephus Daniels.
Speakers Division,	A. S. Burleson and Homer S. Cummings.
Organization Division,	Senator T. P. Gore.
Foreign Division,	Abram I. Elkus.
Business Division,	W. W. Vick.
Labor Division,	R. S. Hudspeth.
Young Men's Division,	John F. DeSaulles and Joseph Truesdale.

Mr. Morgenthau rendered splendid service in his undertaking to raise approximately $1,000,000. Mr. McCombs stated that he was an ideal person to direct this division, being a capitalist with large financial experience and excellent business judgment.

The Publicity Division plastered the country with posters, and in addition extolled the Democratic candidate in leading magazines that reached the eyes of millions. Further, myriads of pamphlets were disseminated, and the campaign text-book, which had been edited by Hon. Robert W. Woolley, later appointed Director of the Mint, found a large sale and merited much praise from all who consulted it. Woolley also attended to the cartoon service and edited the special articles that were sent to the larger dailies and Sunday papers.

The Speakers Division reminded one of an employment bureau. Spellbinders sat about ready for any call that might be made on them. The books contained thousands

of speakers, and they were kept busy until election day.

At one of the Committee meetings, Mr. Hudspeth, of the Labor Bureau, stated that he thought it would be a very good idea to have some negro speakers. Mr. Burleson, of Texas, quickly replied that he was in favor of the motion, provided the Labor Bureau handled them.

Senator Gore perfected the Division of Organization to an extent that made it possible to reach the personnel of the smallest precincts, and he kept in close touch with the leaders of Wilson associations and clubs. As his assistant he named Mr. W. D. Jamieson, who had been a rabid Clark follower. When this fact was brought to the Senator's attention, he said: "That's why I want him near me."

Mr. Elkus, in McCombs' opinion, had the tartar of all the divisions because of the fact that during the prenomination campaign the minds of many thousands of the

foreign element had been poisoned by the addresses of Governor Wilson's opponents, together with the vicious pamphlets that they had sent out, but through a series of splendidly edited booklets, and personal communications, Mr. Elkus dissipated their intense indignation and succeeded in lining up large numbers of these good people for the Democratic candidate.

The Director of the Division of Business, Mr. Vick, supervised all plans for the installation of headquarters, together with the purchasing of necessary supplies, and Mr. McCombs had declared that all items, both incoming and outgoing, should bear the approval of the head of that Division. Mr. Vick's duties were so manifold that I crave pardon for being unable to name them.

The Young Men's Division was organized to enlist the support of the first voters, and also took in the college clubs. Mr. Joseph R. Truesdale, a rising young New

To Maurice F. Lyons
with compliments
of
Henry Morgenthau

Photo by Clinedinst

Maurice F. Lyons

Willard Saulsbury

York lawyer, was the brains of the organization. Mr. John DeSaulles, the co-director, contributed $5,000 to the Presidential campaign and was appointed Minister to Argentina.

Returning to the subject of the first meeting of the Committee, a recess was taken until 8 P. M., and the body again called to order by the Chairman, whereupon Senator Reed proposed that ratification meetings be held, placing emphasis upon the necessity of taking quick action.

The question of a vice-chairman of the Campaign Committee was now taken up and Senator O'Gorman stated that New York should not be represented so largely, and that if Mr. McAdoo were elected there should be a Vice-Chairman from another locality.

Mr. McCombs stated that in his opinion there should be two or three vice-chairmen from various localities.

The discussion was interrupted by Mr.

McAdoo, who proposed that arrangements be made for the meeting at Sea Girt, N. J., to inform Governor Wilson of his nomination as the Democratic Presidential candidate. It was thereupon moved, seconded, and carried that Mr. McAdoo be delegated as a member of the campaign committee to assist in the matter of arrangements on the day of notification, but my minutes do not show that he was elected Vice-Chairman of the Democratic National Committee or of the Campaign Committee.

The meeting was adjourned until the following day, but I was not present, remaining with Mr. McCombs, who had a relapse, and I am unable to state whether Mr. McAdoo at that time was elected Vice-Chairman, though later in a letter to Senator Gore, Mr. McCombs stated:

> "Nobody is Acting Chairman, except upon a construction, Mr. McAdoo."

Colonel House at this time cabled to Mr. McCombs, who replied:

"E. M. House,
Brown, Shipley & Co.,
London.

"Am glad you are returning. Your assistance will be of great value."

On the 12th of August Mr. McCombs collapsed completely in his rooms at the Knickerbocker Hotel and Mr. McAdoo took hold of the reins at headquarters. He called to see Mr. McCombs and was most considerate and patient. I endeavored to assist Mr. McAdoo in every way possible, presenting to him the incompleted lists of various State committees and other matters that I thought should be in his possession.

When Mr. McCombs was later removed to the home of his sister, Mrs. Ethel Thomas, at Flushing, L. I., Mr. McAdoo called several times, as did Governor Wilson, Colonel House, Senator Gore, and many other friends.

During one of his visits, Governor Wilson requested that I keep him informed as to

Mr. McCombs' condition. Within a short time I wrote him, as follows:

"DEAR GOVERNOR WILSON:

"Mr. McCombs has had two or three very bad spells since he wrote you. He is still in bed and is weak. His doctors do not give him any definite assurances as to when he will be able to return. One says three weeks, one says at least four, and the other makes no definite statement. Mr. McCombs repeatedly expresses anxiety that the campaign should not be held back in any way on account of his illness. He told me that he thinks his return, in fairness to all, especially those who are waiting to confer with him, be regarded as indefinite. He asks me to say he is doing the very best he can and to convey to you his highest regards. Yours sincerely."

Mr. McCombs then dictated the following for Mr. McAdoo:

"As I said to you ten days ago, and as I have sent word to members of the Committee and to the Governor since that time, I expect that nothing be held up pending my return, but that the campaign proceed exactly as though I were not in it at all. I sketched out my ideas in skeleton form when I saw you and am sure, so far as they are applicable, you are following them. I am still confined to my bed and, in justice to the campaign

as well as myself, must patiently await a recovery. Mr. Lyons spoke to me about your making use of Mr. Pence, Mr. Vick, and himself. Of course, I expected you would, as far as their knowledge of the situation went. I am sure they all are as much interested in the election of Governor Wilson as you and I, and are willing to do what they can. I think Senator Gore comes nearer knowing the personnel of politics in this country and the dangerous rocks to avoid in making appointments than any man on the committee.

"It fills me with sorrow to have to come down at such a critical period, and I can only, in fairness to the cause, say, as I said at the beginning, that my absence must positively in no way be allowed to hold up anything, otherwise I should be extremely unhappy.

"I am revolving in my mind resigning the Chairmanship of the Campaign Committee if I do not feel decidedly better by Monday. The fairness of this appeals to me very strongly. All the above, of course, is confidential.

"Believe me, with kindest regards,

"Sincerely yours."

Mr. Archibald S. White now prevailed upon Mr. McCombs to accept the use of his camp at Paul Smith's, in the Adirondacks, and a private car was placed at his

disposal by Mr. DeSaulles, who composed one of our party, the others being Mrs. DeSaulles, Miss Corinne McCombs, Mr. McCombs' nurse, and myself.

After Mr. McCombs had been made comfortable at the camp I returned to headquarters for a day, and upon reaching my office on August 30th was informed by Mr. Hollister, an assistant to the Chairman, that Mr. McAdoo had stated to Senator Stone that he did not desire the Chairmanship, that McCombs' work was unsuited to him, and that he hoped the Chairman would be able to return within ten days.

Mr. Henry Morgenthau also informed me that it was intended to cut down the force, but that Mr. McAdoo had stated the services of none of Mr. McCombs' friends would be dispensed with; also that Mr. McAdoo hesitated to take Mr. McCombs' office, Mr. Morgenthau adding: "You could not blame him if he desired to assume command."

The above remarks I placed in my diary under said date of August 30th, 1912, and upon my return to the camp the following day I read them to Mr. McCombs, who appeared to be much gratified, but he did not improve and requested that I telephone Colonel House at Great Barrington, Mass., that he had definitely concluded to resign the Chairmanship. Within a short time I was in communication with the Colonel, who stated:

> "Tell Mr. McCombs not to resign; that his friends expect him to hold on, and that there are big things in store for him. Tell him, if possible, to come to the Adams House, Boston, to-morrow. I shall be there and we can talk it over."

The following morning Mr. McCombs and I left the camp hurriedly and were soon in Boston. Upon our arrival at the Adams House I looked on the hotel register, but the Colonel's name was not there. Presently he came toward us and stated that he had not registered under arrangements at the

desk. Mr. McCombs was a sorry sight, yellow-skinned, hollow-eyed and emaciated. He assisted himself along with the aid of his cane, and the Colonel held his arm. During the conference, at which I was present, Mr. McCombs stated he was of the opinion that Governor Wilson was not playing fair with him, and had shown a coolness which worried him greatly. Colonel House replied that he was not aware of the Governor's attitude, but that in any event he stood ready at all times to uphold him (McCombs) for the service he had rendered. Colonel House had always been most kind to him. He had a fatherly way of soothing a person in distress. The very atmosphere seemed to breathe comfort when he was about.

The return to New York was a nightmare for me, Mr. McCombs having become desperately ill on the train. The nurse had been left at the camp. I was up most of the night endeavoring to allay his pains.

Mr. Samuel Untermeyer had previously arranged a suite of rooms for Mr. McCombs at the Plaza Hotel. He remained there but a short time, and then rented the Sedley Cottage at Larchmont, N. Y., hoping that the surroundings would be of benefit to him. Two of New York's foremost specialists were engaged to attend him. Governor Wilson and Colonel House called to confer with the stricken man, as did also Mr. McAdoo.

Later a banquet was tendered the Chairman at the Hotel Astor, under the auspices of a committee at the head of which was "Big Bill" Edwards, Mr. McCombs having been treated so that it would be possible for him to attend. Governor Wilson was present, and during his address said that it would not be in good taste publicly to state the great affection he had for McCombs, and that he would therefore leave that part of the program for another occasion.

Mr. McCombs returned to the Plaza

Hotel, where he had another relapse, and Dr. Simon Baruch was hurriedly called. Governor Wilson again visited the sick man. I was at a loss to understand why the Governor did not insist upon the resignation of Mr. McCombs, give out a statement to the press, and have Mr. McAdoo see the campaign through. I concluded, in view of all the circumstances in the case, that Governor Wilson considered the Chairman impossible of replacement.

Toward the middle of October Mr. McCombs requested that I call headquarters and inform Mr. McAdoo that he would be at his desk the following day. Mr. McAdoo escorted the Chairman to his room and saw that he was made comfortable.

A conference was immediately had with Mr. Rolla Wells, Treasurer of the Committee, and it was ascertained that there was a dearth of "sinews", whereupon Mr. McCombs immediately set to work in an effort to replenish the coffers. He was

Sincerely yours,
Josephus Daniels

A. S. Burleson

quite successful, and should have great credit for himself having procured a large amount of the contributions. He had a smile, a handshake, and a line of conversation that almost always brought results.

Colonel House called often, entering McCombs' room quietly and leaving more so. He was an enigma to all at headquarters. My desk being close to that of the Chairman, I had every opportunity of hearing anything that passed between the two men. Their conversations invariably related to finances with which to conduct the campaign and political conditions in the States.

On election day Mr. McCombs, upon entering headquarters, stated:

"Good morning, the People speak today."

He did not remain very long, and on departing said he would meet me at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, where the returns were to be received.

That evening we gathered in the East Room of the hotel and I noticed that Senator O'Gorman was graciously assisting Mr. McCombs about, while Colonel House sat alone in one of the small off rooms.

As it became apparent that Governor Wilson had been elected to the Presidency, Mr. McCombs and I sent telegrams of congratulation to him. The Chairman then entered the room in which Colonel House was seated, and I followed. They spoke in low tones, and presently Mr. McCombs said:

"If I cannot be Secretary of the Treasury, I will take nothing."

Colonel House made no reply, and soon Mr. McCombs went upstairs, where some friends awaited him.

CHAPTER IV

The Matter of the French Ambassadorship, Etc.

FROM the month of July, when he was first stricken, Mr. McCombs was a changed man. He seemed suspicious of every one in any way connected with the campaign. In his abnormal condition he concluded that Mr. McAdoo, especially, sought to undermine him, and when I endeavored to quiet him he responded in a manner that caused me to gasp. Subsequently I collapsed in our rooms at the Vanderbilt Hotel, but within a few weeks returned to my desk.

Hundreds of letters had in the meantime been received from members of the National Committee in the interest of friends whom they desired should be considered for office, and while they were being

replied to and a list prepared for reference, Mr. McCombs communicated with his friends in regard to his desire to be appointed Secretary of the Treasury, a very active worker of the coterie being Mr. Otto Carmichael. In addition Mr. McCombs called upon Governor Wilson quite often at his home in Princeton until the Governor left for Bermuda.

When the press announced the selection of Mr. McAdoo for the Secretaryship of the Treasury and the information was conveyed to Mr. McCombs, he slowly left the room, stating: "Well, he has it."

Within a few days he again called upon Governor Wilson, and upon returning his face was wreathed in smiles as he said:

"Lyons, the Governor has promised me the patronage."

Shortly after Governor Wilson had been inaugurated as President he issued a statement that it would be impossible for him to handle questions of patronage, and he

placed them within the jurisdiction of the Secretaries of the various departments.

Previously Mr. McCombs had also submitted his first list of those whom he believed to be deserving of reward, as follows:

Richard Olney, for Secretary of State.
John T. McGraw, for Secretary of War.
R. W. Hollister, for Assistant Secretary of War.
Abram I. Elkus, for Attorney General.
R. L. Henry, for Postmaster General.
Henry Morgenthau, for Secretary of Commerce.
Archibald S. White, for Ambassador to France.
Frederic C. Penfield, for Ambassador to Germany
James W. Gerard, for Ambassador to Italy.
John F. DeSaulles, for Minister to Chile.
John W. Clifton, for Minister to Switzerland.
Wm. Osborn, for Commissioner of Internal Revenue.
General Bibb Graves, for Collector of Internal Revenue, Alabama.

None of these recommendations were followed, excepting that of Mr. Wm. Osborn.

Mr. McCombs also spoke to President Wilson with regard to the appointment of his brother, Robert McCombs, as Superintendent of the Reservation at Hot Springs,

Arkansas, but informed me that the President had declined to do so on the ground that Senator Robinson of that State might interpose objections.

On the afternoon of March 2d, Mr. McCombs and myself arrived at the Shoreham Hotel in Washington, having engaged a suite of rooms directly below that which the President-elect was to occupy.

The following evening the Chairman informed Mr. Pence and myself that he had been tendered the French Ambassadorship, and stated:

"I cannot take it. I cannot afford it. My law practice would be ruined. They are trying to send me to St. Helena after all I have done."

I begged him to take the post, so did Tom Pence. After Pence left, he said: "Lyons, I am no quitter. Friends have worked with me in these campaigns. I must remain here and see that they are looked after."

Shoreham Hotel
H Street Northwest at Fifteenth Street
Washington

W. H. BARSE, MANAGER

March 3, 1913

My dear Governor:

I have thought carefully over the means of accomplishing the accepting of the great compliment you have paid me in offering to me the ambassadorship to France. Happily after conference with my family today I am glad to say I can arrange to accept the great honor you have offered me. I shall try to justify the function of the great office to the utmost of my ability. Yours sincerely

W. F. McCombs

However, about midnight, after having paced about the room for over two hours, he wrote the following:

"March 3, 1913.

"My dear Governor:

"I have thought carefully over the means of accomplishing the accepting of the great compliment you have paid me in offering to me the ambassadorship to France. Happily after conference with my family to-day I am glad to say I can arrange to accept the great honor you have offered me. I shall try to fulfill the functions of the great office to the utmost of my ability.

"Yours sincerely,

W. F. McCombs."

Upon arriving at the door of Governor Wilson's suite, I found that he had retired for the night, and while I was endeavoring to insert the letter underneath the door, Mr. Joseph P. Tumulty approached and suggested that I deliver it to Major Wilson, the Governor's aide, whose room was a few doors away. This being accomplished, I returned to our room. Mr. McCombs was

walking nervously about, and presently stated:

"Yes, they are trying to send me to St. Helena. Lyons, get that letter."

I returned to Major Wilson's room and he handed me the communication, which Mr. McCombs threw in the waste basket and I retained as a souvenir.

On the morning of the 4th of March, after Mr. McCombs had received an invitation to take luncheon at the White House with the President and Mrs. Wilson at 2 o'clock that afternoon, he said to me:

"Lyons, I am heart-broken. I must see the Governor." He thereupon wrote the following:

"March 4th.

MY DEAR GOVERNOR:

"I am very desirous of seeing you before you leave the hotel, which I think is about ten o'clock. It is quite important.

"Yours sincerely,

"WM. F. McCOMBS."

Shoreham Hotel
H Street Northwest at Fifteenth Street
Washington

W H RARSE, MANAGER

Mar 4th

My dear Governor:-

I am very desirous of seeing you before you leave the hotel which I think is about ten o'clock. It is quite important.

Yours Sincerely
W. H. Rarse

Can you come to my room now
The committee comes almost at once

N. W.

I delivered the letter in person to Governor Wilson, who wrote at the bottom thereof:

"Can you come to my room now?
The Committee comes almost at once.
"W. W."

and Mr. McCombs accordingly went to him, but returned within a short time and we left the hotel.

A statement has been made by Mr. Tumulty that Mr. McCombs' poison brigade gathered at the Shoreham Hotel in Washington on the day of the inauguration and, attempting to reform their broken lines, sought to prevent Mr. McAdoo's confirmation at the hands of the Senate.

Mr. Tumulty's statement is erroneous. The only persons who called to see Mr. McCombs on the 4th of March were Postmaster General Burleson, Mr. McCombs' immediate family, Tom Pence, and one or two other friends.

It had been arranged that after Mr.

McCombs had broken bread at the White House I was to meet him in the President's Stand on the 15th Street side. Senator Saulsbury also joined us and we viewed the inaugural parade.

I believe the reason there were so few callers on Mr. McCombs that day was because the papers carried a list of the President's cabinet, and "friends" seeing that his name was not included deserted him for the direction in which the plums might be more easily procured. But this, of course, is part of the game of politics. It requires a good loser. I think Mr. McCombs would have taken the short end gracefully, had he not been desperately ill.

At a meeting of the Democratic National Committee in the Willard Hotel on March 5th, Colonel John T. McGraw, National Committeeman from West Virginia, offered the following:

"*Resolved*, That this Committee representing the several States and Territories

> of the Union tender their thanks to the accomplished and efficient Chairman of this Committee for the faithfulness and earnestness and efficiency with which he discharged the important duties intrusted to him by this Committee at its Chicago meeting."

The motion was seconded by National Committeeman Cato Sells, of Texas, and unanimously carried.

Mr. McCombs responded in a few well-chosen words, thanking the members for their advices and encouragement during the campaign, and adding that he valued their friendships and would endeavor ever to retain them.

Late that afternoon Mr. McCombs called up the White House and I remember distinctly that he begged the President to issue a statement to the press that he had been offered a cabinet post, but had declined, his last words being: "You know how I feel, Governor."

The next day, the 6th, the following appeared in the Washington *Post:*

> "Mr. Wilson made formal announcement yesterday that he offered an ambassadorship to Chairman Wm. F. McCombs of the Democratic National Committee,"

and further quoted the President as follows:

> "Mr. McCombs told me he did not wish a cabinet appointment. I have offered him one of the principal diplomatic posts and hope he will accept."

And so the whitewash was applied.

Mr. McCombs returned to New York undecided as to whether he should accept the French Ambassadorship, but early in April he addressed the following communication to the President:

"Since I saw you on Saturday, I have been making continuous efforts to dispose of my affairs so that I might accept your very flattering offer. I have been in touch with Tumulty from day to day to find out whether my delay was embarrassing you in any way, and he told me it was not. Of course, I did not want to inconvenience you.

"As I have told you before, my difficulty in accepting the post has lain in the adjustment of my financial affairs here and in the forming of a connection which would continue, in some degree, my practice. The clientele which any lawyer has is very largely personal to himself, and it is almost impossible to arrange that the affairs of such a clientele be handled by others. This is the difficulty under which I have labored.

"After intimations to my clients, I find my absence would, in their view, be prejudicial to their interests and that they would each seek separate counsel. This would mean my return to New York without any clientele whatsoever and a new start. After the statement which you so kindly issued, it occurred to me that I might make an arrangement under which my affairs could be handled. I am convinced now that it is impossible, and that I must remain here to maintain myself. During the past two years I have been compelled to neglect my business to a very large extent, and I feel that it is absolutely essential for me to recoup. In view of the very great honor of the French post, I was quite willing to sacrifice almost anything. I now know that the sacrifice would be complete.

"I was sorry to see in the New York papers of yesterday under Washington date line that I had accepted the embassy. It has placed me in a most embarrassing position, and has caused general

comment of vacillation. I cannot imagine how the fact that I was reconsidering became public. The press clippings I get in the matter are most annoying to me, and must be to you. I suppose the only thing to say in the matter is that my position is the same as it was when my statement was given out in Washington.

"Let me again thank you very deeply for the great honor you have conferred upon me. I sincerely wish it were within my power to accept. It is such a thing as rarely comes in a man's lifetime.

"Believe me as ever,

Always your to command,

WM. F. McCOMBS."

With regard to the above communication, Mr. McCombs had formed a new law partnership under the name of McCombs, Ryan and Gordon, but upon consideration did not feel that he could afford to leave them in charge of his practice. I remember, in particular, that during the campaigns the officials of a large construction company were extremely embarrassed through their inability to get in touch with him.

With respect to that part of Mr. Mc-

Confidential July 6, 1913

My dear Lyon:

I am on Tuesday to have an operation for appendicitis. The surgeons say it has been the cause in the main of my illness. I hope it will come out all right. I trust by this time you are fully restored. We fought the historic battle & must expect to pay the penalty of fatigue. Rest as long as you like.

Sincerely
W. F. McCombs

7 Rue [illegible]

Combs' letter in which he refers to the statement which the President issued, it has been set forth by me under date of March 6th.

As to the statement which was given out in Washington by Mr. McCombs—the Chairman set forth that it would be impossible for him to accept the post and that he would return to the practice of the law.

About the middle of April I collapsed completely from the strain of worry and work, and Mr. McCombs insisted that I leave New York. Early in May I was informed that the Chairman had sailed for France, and later I received the following at Greenwood Lake, N. J.

"Confidential "July 6, 1913.

My dear Lyons:

"I am on Tuesday to have an operation for appendicitis. The surgeons say it has been the cause in the main of my illness. I hope it will come out all right. I trust by this time you are fully restored. We

fought a historic battle and must expect to pay the penalty of fatigue. Rest as long as you like.

"Sincerely,

"W. F. McCombs."

"7 Rue Scribe, Munroe & Co."

I immediately made preparations to sail for France, and telegraphed the President, who was at Cornish, N. H.:

"Am leaving for France within a few days. Have you any word to send McCombs through me?"

The President replied:

"Convey my affectionate regards to McCombs and tell him I hope to have the pleasure of sending his name to the Senate."

It appears that irrespective of anything the President was determined that Mr. McCombs accept the French post.

On July 19th I joined Mr. McCombs at Dengler's Sanitorium in Baden-Baden, Germany, whither he had gone from Paris, which was an admirable retreat for both of us in our lamentable condition, from which,

however, happily I recovered, and each day thereafter the Chairman spent much time in sending cables either to the White House or to Mr. Ryan, his law partner, with regard to the Ambassadorship.

Our daily walks were necessarily short. The good folk of the city upon learning who their distinguished visitor was paid him homage, and on one occasion when we entered the Kur Garten to listen to the splendid orchestra the audience applauded this man that the New York *Sun* had honored with the sobriquet "The New Napoleon". He acknowledged their greeting with a weary and mechanical movement of his hand.

One day as we were slowly walking toward the spacious veranda of the Stephanie Hotel, Mr. McCombs took from his pocket the message I had brought him from President Wilson, and stated:

"Lyons, the President knows full well that I cannot afford to accept. When my

> term expired I would have nothing left but a boiled shirt with a medal hanging on it, and I could then return to my father's house at Hamburg, Arkansas, sit under a tree and think it over. My efforts have been fruitless, Lyons. The President has treated me like a red-headed stepchild."

His words burned into my brain like fire, as I held the arm of McCombs, a broken-down old man at about thirty-nine years of age.

Early in August Mr. McCombs sent a cable to his law partner, requesting him to call at the White House and inform the President of his final decision not to accept the French Ambassadorship.

Shortly thereafter it was necessary for me to depart for home, and upon reaching New York I immediately called upon Mr. Ryan, who exclaimed:

"Did you ever see anything like it! McCombs sent me four and five cables a day."

CHAPTER V

Conclusion

WHEN that portion of Mr. McCombs' memoirs which I had assisted him in compiling was shown me I was amazed. It was plainly the effort of a bitterly disappointed person. I was aware of the futility of argument, but determined, if at all possible, to quash the publication. I both called upon and wrote Mr. Tumulty in the matter several times, giving him the gist of the book, and in one of my communications declared that the man who could prevail upon McCombs to do away with the manuscript was Hon. T. P. Gore. Mr. McCombs loved the blind Senator from Oklahoma. It appears that my advice was not heeded.

I also called to see Colonel House in the matter, and he, as usual, received the news calmly. The Colonel had been endeavor-

ing to assist Mr. McCombs in many matters of patronage. Presently he stated:

> "What a tragedy! He is making it impossible for me to help him."

The Colonel always had a deep affection for Mr. McCombs, stood by him during the campaigns, and to the last ditch in the discussions relative to the personnel of the President's cabinet.

Let me also state, in justice to Mr. McAdoo, that he never raised a finger against the unfortunate man at any time. He was kind and big-hearted.

Poor McCombs—few seemed to understand his condition, but let it never be forgotten that William F. McCombs was Manager of the campaign that resulted in the nomination of Governor Wilson.

William F. McCombs was Chairman of the Democratic National Committee and gave the best that was in him during the Presidential Campaign, which resulted in the election of Woodrow Wilson.

Mr. McCombs became desperately ill while working in Governor Wilson's behalf.

Woodrow Wilson denied the young President Maker the reward that he sought and hoped for, until at last heart-broken, sick, and weary he found solace in that land

> Where falls not hail, or rain, or
> any snow,
> Nor ever wind blows loudly, but
> it lies
> Deep-meadow'd, happy, fair with
> orchard lawns
> And bowery hollows crown'd with
> summer sea.

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